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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

VOLUME XXXI

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DIE *DEUTSCHEN SAGEN* DER BRÜDER GRIMM ALS BALLADENQUELLE ¹

Es bieten sich mehrere Möglichkeiten die Balladen, welche Sagenmaterial behandeln, einzuteilen. Man möchte gern die Genauigkeit der Anlehnung an den Text der Brüder Grimm zur Basis machen aber wir stossen dann auf die Schwierigkeit, dass man nur in den allerwenigsten Fällen positiv Gebrauch der Grimmschen Sagen feststellen kann. Die meisten Dichter, die diesen Stoff vornahmen, waren unbedeutend und Angaben über einzelne Gedichte fehlen in Lebensabriss und Briefen, sofern diese überhaupt gedruckt vorliegen. Also kann man sich nur an das Erscheinungsjahr halten: eine chronologische Einteilung wäre eben so unbefriedigend. Und da bleibt uns nur die Anordnung nach *Sagenstoffen*, wobei man sich auch an die *Deutschen Sagen* der Brüder Grimm halten kann, obgleich diese, was die örtlichen und historischen Rubriken betrifft, nicht immer konsequent verteilt sind.

Einige Balladen sind beinahe wörtlich den *Deutschen Sagen* nacherzählt und sind weiter nichts als eine Versifizierung der betreffenden Prosasage (Vgl. besonders Kopisch). Andere Dichter haben den Stoff treu wiedergegeben aber in wirklich balladeske Form eingekleidet. Wiederum andere begnügten sich den Kern der Sage beizubehalten und malten dann das Bild nach ihrem Belieben aus. (wie z. B. Annette v. Droste-Hülshoff in *Der Spiritus Familiaris des Rosstäuschers*.) Eine vierte Gruppe von Balladen behandelt zwar dieselben Sagen, die sich bei den Brüdern Grimm finden, aber da keine bestimmte Aussage vorhanden ist, wird es infolge der

¹ Die Anregung zu diesem Aufsatz verdanke ich Herrn Professor Schneider in Berlin.

allgemeinen Verbreitung der Stoffe unmöglich festzustellen, ob der betreffende Dichter aus Grimm schöpfte oder nicht. Endlich finden wir noch Balladen, denen Motive zu Grunde liegen, die allé in den *Deutschen Sagen* vorkommen, die aber hier neu zusammengestellt sind. Es sind dieser eine Unmenge und es lohnte sich kaum die einzelnen Balladen aufzuzählen. Da die meisten Dichter, die sich für diesen Balladenstoff interessierten, von geringer, ja von geringster Bedeutung sind, hätte es keinen Wert das Verzeichnis in unabsehbare Länge hinauszuziehen.

Als die Brüder Grimm in den Jahren 1816 und 1818 ihre *Deutschen Sagen* herausgaben, waren sie von dem Wunsche beseelt, dass diese urkräftigen Produkte des deutschen Volksgeistes von ihren Landsgenossen aufgenommen werden möchten und dass dadurch die Liebe zur heimatlichen Scholle, die Liebe zum Vaterlande gestärkt würde. Wenn auch die *Deutschen Sagen* nicht dieselbe Beliebtheit genossen wie die *Märchen*,² so wirkten sie doch befruchtend auf die ganze Literatur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts. Und wo ihr Einfluss kein direkter war, liegt doch in den endlosen Sagensammlungen, die durch dieses Buch angeregt wurden, eine mittelbare Einwirkung vor.

Ein guter Teil der Sagen war natürlich schon altbekanntes Gemeingut und war auch im achtzehnten Jahrhundert brockenweise ausgenutzt worden. Andere Sagen, wie die vom *Brennberger*, waren bekannt durch *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (1806-8). Aber es war der Grimmschen Sammlung vorbehalten den ersten umfassenden Blick über den gesammten Sagenschatz zu bieten,³ und die Folgen blieben auch nicht aus. Sofort liessen sich Dichterstimmen hören, die in ihren eigenen Tönen und Weisen die alte Märchen- und Sagenwelt wieder zu beleben suchten. Lyrik, Epos und Drama sind alle vertreten. Da aber auf die *Deutschen Sagen* in den 30er, 40er und 50er Jahren eine solche Unmasse von Sagensammlungen folgte, ist meistens der Hinweis auf eine bestimmte Quelle eine schwierige Sache, um so mehr da die Dichter zweifelsohne mit

² Der zweite Abdruck erschien erst nach fünfzig Jahren, 1865.

³ Die Schriften des Johann Prätorius (Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts) bieten mehr Material als sonst irgend ein Buch vor dem 19. Jh. Das nächste Buch von Bedeutung war der Band *Volkssagen* von Otmar (1800). In den folgenden Jahren erschienen nur zwei Werke von Belang für die deutsche Volkssage: die Sammlung von Büsching (1812) und die von Gottschalk (1814).

vielen der Sagen schon von der Heimat her bekannt waren. Besonders bei den örtlichen Sagen muss man vorsichtig gehen, denn diese Motive sind an keine Gegend gebunden und tauchen unter den verschiedensten Umständen und Formen auf. Bei den geschichtlichen Sagen hat man es leichter, abgesehen von solchen wie die von Barbarossa, die ohnehin überall bekannt war, denn sie werden meistens durch die Quelle, die oft einzig dasteht, bestimmt und erscheinen nur in der einen von Grimm wiedergegebenen Form. Einzelne Züge solcher Sagen sind aber an verschiedenen Stellen zu finden, z.B. der zurückkehrende Graf, der beim Hochzeitsmahl seiner Gattin sich durch einen in den Becher geworfenen Ring zu erkennen gibt. In solchen Fällen kann sich der Dichter an eine andere Quelle gehalten haben oder er hat aus eigener Erfindung geschöpft.⁴

In der folgenden Darstellung werde ich mich möglichst an die Grimmsche Klassifizierung halten, wenn auch die Grenzen zwischen den Abteilungen "örtlich" und "geschichtlich" fließend sind. Unter den Ortssagen sind viele, die füglich auch als geschichtlich bezeichnet werden könnten, wie *Der Mäuseturm bei Bingen*, *Der Dombau zu Bamberg*, u. a. m. Ferner sind viele der Sagen von Nixen, Zwergen, Riesen u. s. w. keine eigentlichen Ortssagen, weil der Ort nicht wesentlich ist, nur ein Zug oder Motiv, wie z.B. *Der Tanz mit dem Wassermann*. Da ist der Tanz mit den Nixen die Hauptsache und es ist ganz gleichgültig, ob das von Laibach oder Tübingen erzählt wird. Unter Ortssage verstehe ich eine Sage, deren Zweck es ist irgend eine wunderliche Naturerscheinung zu erklären oder die Entstehung eines Gebäudes oder die Gründung einer Stadt zu erzählen. Demnach wäre die Sage vom Rammelsberg (Grimm No. 475)⁵ eine Ortssage, nicht wie die Brüder Grimm es wollen, eine geschichtliche, weil es ihr Zweck ist Etymologien der Namen Rammelsberg und Goslar aufzustellen. Geschichtliche Sagen können manchmal örtlich werden, indem eine geschichtliche Figur in eine rein örtliche Sage eingeflochten wird um die Ausführungen wahrscheinlicher zu machen. Doch kann man in solchen Fällen die Gattungen leicht unterscheiden, z.B. *Der Heilige Winfried* (No. 181).

⁴ Umgestaltung der Sage haben wir bei Justinus Kerner: *Graf Olbertus von Calw*.

⁵ Die Sagen werden hier nach der dritten, von Hermann Grimm besorgten Ausgabe (Berlin, 1891) zitiert.

Von den gewonnenen Gesichtspunkten aus prüfen wir nun die Balladendichtung auf dem Gebiet der Sage. Es heben sich zwei Typen scharf von einander ab: die leichte, duftige Elfenballade und die mit einem tragischen Ausgang. Benzmann meint, dass jene in ihrer "geschmeidigen Grazie" ein "markantes Gegenstück zur harten und stolzen, heroischen Ballade" bilde.⁶ Trotzdem haben wir nur eine geringe Anzahl Balladen aufzuweisen, die das lustige Geisterleben verherrlichen. Kopisch wandte sich mit besonderer Vorliebe diesen Sagen zu, vielleicht weil sie ihm Gelegenheit boten, die bei ihm so beliebten Wortspielereien, mit denen er in so graziöser Weise die Elftänze schilderte, anzuwenden.

Der Auszug der Zwerge, der ungefähr gleichbedeutend mit dem Schwinden des goldenen Zeitalters ist, wird auf verschiedene Weisen erklärt. Einmal ist es, weil die Bauern ihnen einen bösen Streich gespielt und sie von einem Aste heruntergesägt haben. (August Kopisch, *Die Zwerge auf dem Baum*; Grimm No. 148) Ein andermal streuen sie Erbsen auf die Stufen, so dass die hilfreichen Heinzelmännchen ausgleiten (Kopisch, *Die Heinzelmännchen*); oder das Landvolk streut Asche unter die Kirschbäume, auf dass die diebischen Zwerge ihre Gänsefüsse verraten (Grimm No. 150). Das kleine Volk zieht dann mit Sack und Pack aus, gewöhnlich in gemieteten Wagen über die Brücke oder sie überschreiten den Fluss mittelst einer Fähre. Aber es geht immer über einen Fluss zum Land hinaus. Der Fährmann erlangt hierbei Reichtum, weil jeder Zwerg beim Übergange ein Geldstück in einen grossen irdenen Topf wirft. Sie sind natürlich durch ihre Tarnkappen unsichtbar gemacht und man hört nur das Getrippel der tausenden kleinen Füsse. (Kopisch, *Des kleinen Volkes Überfahrt*; Grimm No. 153.)

Oft erwiesen sich die Zwerge als hilfreich und wenn die Dorfbewohner bei einer Festlichkeit Tischgeräte benötigten, wandten sie sich an das Bergvolk. Die kleinen Männer waren zufrieden, wenn man ihnen als Lohn etwas von den Festspeisen hinstellte. (Grimm, *Die Zwerge bei Dardesheim*) Doch waren sie nicht immer so harmlos und spielten oft eine neckische Rolle. So kamen sie einmal unsichtbar nach Pinneberg auf eine Hochzeit, wo sie sich dann zu den Gästen setzten und die Schüsseln leerten. Erst als ihrer einer seine Tarnkappe verlor, kam das Wunder der verschwindenden Speisen an den Tag und man zwang das kleine Volk von seinen

⁶ Hans Benzmann: *Die Deutsche Ballade*, S. XVII.

angehäuften Schätzen eine Masse herbeizuschleppen. (Kopisch: *Die Zwerge in Pinneberg*). Eine Zwergenhochzeit schildert Goethe in der anmutigen Ballade *Hochzeitslied* (Grimm, No. 31).

Die Zwerge spielen also oft die Rolle eines Neckgeistes,⁷ die aber meistens vom Kobold oder Hausgeist übernommen wird. Eine jede Gegend hat ihre Sage von einem Hausgeist, der lange tätig ist und dann verschwindet, wenn eine Magd ihre Neugierde nicht länger bezwingen kann und darauf besteht, ihn zu sehen. Diese Hausgeister erscheinen unter den verschiedensten Namen. Im Schlosse Kalenberg hauste einer, der als Stiefel bekannt war, wegen eines mächtigen Stiefels, den er trug. (Kopisch, *Stiefel*; Grimm No. 78). Auch sonst halten sich die Kobolde mit Vorliebe in Schlössern auf. Im Schlosse zu Flügellau befand sich einer, Klopfer genannt, der immer bereit war den Menschen einen Gefallen zu tun (Kopisch, *Klopfer*; Grimm No. 77). Von Hütchen, der am Hofe des Bischofs Bernhard von Hildesheim wohnte, erzählt man sich vielerlei. Der ausführlichen Zusammenstellung in den *Deutschen Sagen* entnahm Kopisch zwei Anekdoten und bearbeitete sie in *Hütchen*⁸ und *Hütchens Ringlein*. Ein anderer hiess Ekerken und trieb im Herzogtum Kleve grossen Unfug (Kopisch, *Ekerken*; Grimm, No. 79). Dieser war ein reiner Neckgeist, der dem Wanderer gern einen Schabernack spielte.

Die Sagen vom Kobold schielen auch nach einer anderen Seite hin und kommen somit in Verbindung mit den Teufelsgeschichten. Das sind die Sagen vom Drachen (Dräk) und dem Hecketaler. Hierher gehört eine Ballade von Kopisch, die nicht auf Grimm zurück geht, *Der Hausdrache*. Wir reichen also zu den Familiargeistern heran, die in den verschiedensten Formen erscheinen und im *spiritus familiaris* gipfeln. *Der Spiritus Familiaris des Rosstäuschers*, von Annette v. Droste-Hülshoff, ist eigentlich episch, aber wegen ihres balladesken Charakters kann man diese Dichtung hierher rechnen. Nach ihrer eigenen Aussage hat Annette von Droste das Material den *Deutschen Sagen* entnommen.⁹ Aber sie

⁷ Es erscheinen auch die Moosleute im dunklen Fichtenwalde als Neckgeister. (Kopisch, *Zeitelmoos*; Grimm, No. 46.)

⁸ Die Ballade C. F. Meyers, *Fingerhütchen*, stammt aus einem ganz anderen Kreise und geht zurück auf ein irisches Elfenmärchen in Grimms Sammlung.

⁹ „Ich habe soeben ein grösseres Gedicht beendigt von ohngefähr 600 bis 700 Versen, *Der Spiritus Familiaris des Rosstäuschers*; sieben Abteil-

hat den Stoff so künstlerisch bearbeitet, dass man das Werk ohne Zaudern die beste Ballade dieser Gattung nennen kann. Die wahn-sinnige Furcht, die den verdammten Menschen rastlos von Ort zu Ort jagt, bis zu der wuchtigen Steigerung, wo er den letzten verzweifelten Versuch macht, den Dämon loszuwerden, um dann als Bettler aber mit dem seligen Bewusstsein seiner Rettung in die Welt hinauszuziehen, ist mit seltener Kraft dargestellt. Und das Gefühl der Hilflosigkeit gegenüber dem Galgenmännchen, das sich in schauerlich rieselnden Versen offenbart, durchdringt das ganze Gedicht und man kann die bedrückende Vorahnung einer schrecklichen Katastrophe nicht abwerfen. Das Epische, das Romantische, das Heroische,—alles ist da.

Seen und Teiche waren immer ungeheure Stellen und wir finden in jeder Ecke und Kante des Deutschen Reiches Seen, die ihren Sagenkreis haben. Zu den berühmtesten gehört der Mummelsee¹⁰ im Schwarzwald. Die Brüder Grimm schöpften ihr Sagenmaterial aus Grimmelshausen.¹¹ Hier ist die Rede von Wassermännlein-und fräulein, die im See wohnen, den Bauersleuten manchen Schabernack spielen und auch oft böseartig handeln. In einer zweiten Sammlung¹² von Sagen über den Mummelsee verliebt sich auch eine Wasserfrau in einen Bauerssohn. Hier findet man die Spuren von einem zweiten Zyklus. Der See soll nämlich die Stätte eines versunkenen Nonnenklosters sein, dessen ehemalige Insassen immer noch als Seeweiblein spuken.

Eine der besten Balladen, die den Mummelsee zum Gegenstand haben, ist Mörikes, *Die Geister am Mummelsee*.¹³ Ob sie eine freie Nachdichtung der obenerwähnten Sage ist oder ob Mörike aus einer anderen Quelle schöpfte, ist kaum festzustellen. Allenfalls weicht die Fabel ziemlich weit von der Grimmschen Darstellung ab. Geschildert wird das mitternächtige Begräbnis des Zauberkönigs (der Prinz bei Grimmelshausen?) im Geleite der Mummelseegeister. Der See tut sich auf und eine Treppe kommt zum Vorschein, worauf sie in die Tiefe hinabsteigen, um später wieder aus dem

ungen, eine Grimmsche Sage zum Grunde." (An Levin Schücking, den 27. Dez., 1842).

¹⁰ *Deutsche Sagen*, No. 59.

¹¹ *Simplicissimus*, Buch v, Kapitel 10 ff.

¹² Grimm, Anmerkung zu No. 59.

¹³ In *Maler Nolten*, 3. Auflage, Stuttgart, 1890, I, 190. Die Ballade entstand 1828, und erschien zuerst in der *Damenzeitung*, 1829, No. 3, S. 9 f.

Wasser emporzutauchen. Das Gedicht ist vielleicht eine Reminiscenz aus den Tübinger Universitätsjahren. Um ein paar Jahre später erschien die Dichtung von Wilhelm Hertz, *Der Jäger am Mummelsee* (1852). Hier scheint der Stoff auch fremd zu sein, obwohl das Motiv von der Liebe zur Wasserfrau bei Grimm und sonst häufig in den Wassermannsgeschichten gegeben ist. Hier aber wird ein Jäger seinem Schatz untreu, als er nachts eine Wasserfrau aus dem Mummelsee auftauchen sieht. Trotz der Nixe Mahnung drängt er auf einen Kuss, holt sich natürlich den Tod und stirbt in den Armen seiner Geliebten, während das höhnische Gelächter der Wasserfrau durch die Nacht hallt. Als Poesie steht das Gedicht hinter Mörike zurück aber zur Ballade hat es die Spannung und Steigerung zum tragischen Schluss, die Mörikes Gedicht fehlen.

Sicher hat Kopisch die *Deutschen Sagen* als Quelle benutzt in der Ballade, *Der Jäger am Mummelsee*. Ein Jäger zieht am See entlang und lauert auf Wild, als er einen Wassermann gewahrt, der am Ufer einen Haufen Geld zählt. Geschwind legt er an und schießt auf das Männchen, das unversehrt ins Wasser springt. Die Folge ist nicht tragisch wie in der Vorlage, wie denn auch Kopisch alle die Märchen in einem spielenden, neckischen Ton bearbeitet. Das Männlein ruft ihm zu, da er sich das Geld mit Gewalt habe aneignen wollen, solle er zur Strafe beutelos heimziehen.

Auf eigene Erfindung beruht Schnezlers *Mummelseerache*. Ein Wilderer, der den Förster erschossen hat, will die Leiche im See bergen. Doch der See duldet nicht, dass man einen Stein hinein wirft, geschweige denn eine Leiche.¹⁴ Der Mörder bleibt im Gestrüpp hängen und die Wasser wallen auf und verschlingen ihn. Das andere Erzeugnis desselben Dichters, *Am Mummelsee*, ist eher ein Stimmungsbild als eine Ballade.

Die Neckgeister halten sich gern im Wasser auf und fallen mit den Nixen zusammen. Der Wassergeist Schlitzöhrchen (Grimm, No. 63) ist böartig und ertränkt oft den vorübergehenden Wanderer. Kopisch fasst ihn als harmlos auf, ein Geist, der nur böse Buben, die seiner spotten, straft. *Nix* und *Bruder Nickel* von Kopisch gehören auch hierher. *Nix* ist ein Spottlied ähnlich wie

¹⁴ Auch sonst sind die Bewohner der Seen und Teiche besorgt um ihre Wasserheimat und suchen sie gegen Eindringlinge zu schützen. Vgl. Grimm, No. 55 und Mickiewicz, in seinen Balladen vom Switezsee.

die Verse in *Schlitzöhrrchen* und die erste Strophe findet sich schon bei Grimm (No. 61). Bruder Nickel (Grimm, No. 55) ist der Bewohner eines Sees auf Rügen, der es nicht zulässt, dass man da fischt oder im Kahne fährt.

Im Grunde genommen sind aber die Wassergeister feindlich; sie bringen die Menschen um und ziehen den ahnungslosen Wanderer hinab ins Wasser. Manchmal sucht der Wassermann seine Opfer im Dorfe auf und lockt sie zum Rande des Wassers, wo er Gewalt über sie hat. Zu diesem Zwecke gesellt er sich zu den Tänzern bei den Dorffestlichkeiten, tanzt auch mit einem Mädchen (Grimm, No. 51) und bringt sie mit List zum See. Diese Sage ist von Kerner behandelt worden. Er versetzt die Szene nach Tübingen und führt die Erzählung in volkstümlicher Weise in Dialog mit häufigem Parallelismus aus. Auch gegen ihre eigenen Kinder sind die Wassergeister grausam, wie z.B. in der Sage vom Mummelsee. Die Wasserfräulein sind den jungen Dorfburschen hold und möchten sie gern schützen vor dem erbarmungslosen Wassermann. Auch verlieben sie sich oft in einen Sterblichen und tanzen unter der Dorflinde mit ihm, wie vom Mummelsee und dem Döngessee in Hessen erzählt wird. (Grimm No. 58). Ohne die Sage örtlich zu beziehen, hat sie Gottfried Kinkel in der Ballade, *Der Nixenteich*, behandelt. Eine liebliche Nixe mischt sich unter die tanzenden Dorfbewohner und verliebt sich dermassen in ihren Partner, dass sie bis nach Mitternacht bleibt. Als sie gewahr wird, dass der Morgen schon grauen will, läuft sie schnell zum See und springt hinein. Nach einer Weile steigt ein Blutstrahl in die Höhe, ein Zeichen, dass ihre Verwandten sie wegen ihres langen Ausbleibens ermordet haben. Den gleichen tragischen Schluss hat die Ballade von Ludwig Braunsfels, *Die drei Wasserfrauen* (Grimm, No. 307).

Beinahe ein jeder der ungeheuren Seen gilt als die Stätte eines ehemaligen Dorfes, das infolge der Sünden der Bewohner unter dem Wasserspiegel verschwand.¹⁵ Diese Sage gehört also zu den verbreitetsten und viele Balladendichter haben das Thema verwendet. Bei diesen ist aber die Quelle unsicher, was bei einer so bekannten Sage auch zu erwarten ist. Erwähnen kann man: Friedrich Rückert, *Das versunkene Dorf*, *Der fehlende Schöppe*, *Die Nixen*; Wilhelm Müller, *Vineta*; August Kopisch, *Die Stadt*

¹⁵ In den *Deutschen Sagen* sind viele Erzählungen von versunkenen Dörfern, Schlössern, Klöstern u. dgl. zu finden; No. 59, 97, 112, 132, 240.

im See; Friedrich Schlegel, *Das versunkene Schloss*; Karl Simrock, *Lorscher See*; A. Stöber, *Das versunkene Kloster*; Nikolaus Hocker, *Die Wettenburg*; Johann Nepomuk Vogl, *Der Gnomen Rache*.

In diesen Sagen werden ganze Ortschaften gezüchtigt aber Einzelstrafen kommen auch vor. Manchmal kommt die Strafe nach dem Tode, so dass der Sünder bis zum Jüngsten Tage rastlos umherziehen muss wie der Wilde Jäger (siehe Scheffel, *Des Rodensteiners Auszug*, Grimm No. 170);¹⁶ oder der Betreffende wird in einen Berg gebannt; oder die Strafe kommt vor dem Tode als Armut oder Krankheit. Von der ersten Gattung von Sagen könnte man bei Grimm eine lange Reihe anführen: No. 170, 172, 174, 276, 283, 309, 310, 311, 312. Balladen dieser Gattung gibt es aber weiter keine. Von verdammten Geistern, die manchmal unter Qualen aber meistens in einen Berg gebannt den Jüngsten Tag erwarten, haben wir mehrere Sagen (Grimm No. 107, 144, 279) und eine Anzahl Dichtungen. Eine der grauenhaftesten hat Chamisso bearbeitet in *Die Männer auf dem Zobtenberg*. Beinahe wörtlich ist die Übereinstimmung mit Grimm und dies ist einer der wenigen Fälle, wo man unbedingte Abhängigkeit von den *Deutschen Sagen* konstatieren kann. Nur die Namensform erscheint geändert (Grimm, Zottenberg). Lügenhaftigkeit und Geiz werden gewöhnlich sofort bestraft und zwar durch Verwirklichung der Lüge und Verarmung des Geizhalses. Ein Reicher schwört dem verhungerten Volke, er habe nichts und wie er an seinen Schrank geht, findet er ihn wirklich leer. Die Geschichte vom versteinerten Brodlaib (Grimm No. 241) liegt in zwei unbedeutenden Bearbeitungen vor: Tenner *Der Brodstein zu Oliva* und Magenau, *Der steinerne Brodlaib zu Meckarhausen*. In diesen Kreis gehört auch die Sage vom Bingener Mäuseturm (Grimm, No. 242), die versifiziert wurde von Kopisch und Froschmäuseler.¹⁷

Prophezeiungen verschiedener Art kommen vielfach in den Volkssagen vor. Tod, Krieg und sonstiges Unglück werden durch Zeichen vorausgesagt, wie beim Birnbaum auf dem Walserfeld (Grimm, No. 24), von dem erzählt wird, dass sein Blühen einen Weltkrieg andeute. Chamisso hat den Stoff in einer tendenziösen

¹⁶ Ferner auch die Ballade von Graf Schack, *Burg Rodenstein* (ein Zeitgedicht), *Gesammelte Werke*, II, 390.

¹⁷ Bei Simrock, *Rheinsagen*, S. 210.

Ballade verwertet. Der Tod wird symbolisch angekündigt durch das Stillstehen eines Flusses, Versiegen einer Quelle, Verdorren eines Baumes, Abwelken einer Blume. Eigenartig ist die Sage von der Lilie im Kloster zu Korvei (Grimm, No. 264), wonach eine weisse Lilie auf dem Chorstuhle den Mönchen den Tod eines ihrer Zahl weissagte. Diese Sage ist die Vorlage einer Ballade von Gisbert Freiherr Vincke. Aber nicht nur Unheil wird prophezeit sondern auch Erntesege.¹⁸ Junge Mädchen pflegen in der Neujahrsnacht zu erfahren wie ihr künftiger Geliebter aussieht (Grimm, No. 118). Diese Sage ist von Theodor Fontane behandelt in *Sylvesternacht*. Eine freie Erfindung über dasselbe Thema ist die gleichnamige Ballade von Georg Ruseler.

Bei Grimm finden sich zwei Glockengiessersagen (No. 126, 127), wo dem Giessergehilfen eine schwere Strafe für seinen Ungehorsam zu teil wird. Den Mord des Giessergehilfen erzählt Wilhelm Müller im *Glockenguss zu Breslau*. Er hat nichts selbständiges der Grimmschen Sage hinzugefügt.

Die beliebte Sage vom Riesenspielzeug ist öfter verwertet worden als irgend eine andere. Die Balladen von Rückert und Chamisso sind ja allbekannt. Dazu kommen noch die von Karl Streckfuss, Charlotte Engelhardt-Schöninghäuser, Langbein und Friedrich Güll.¹⁹ Eigentlich mehr Märchen als Sage ist die Geschichte von den begrabenen Bergleuten (Grimm, No. 1), die Rückert so lieblich in Balladenform gebracht hat.

Die geschichtlichen Sagen haben einen viel grösseren Kreis von Interessenten gefunden als die örtlichen. Am anziehendsten scheinen die Sagen von der Völkerwanderung gewesen zu sein und es hat sich eine beträchtliche Balladenliteratur, die die Sturm- und Drangzeit des Germanentums zum Thema hatte, angesammelt. Kopisch hat sich auch hier eifrig betätigt und eine Anzahl dieser Balladen unter dem Titel "Episches" gesammelt. Er scheint auch ein Langobardenepos geplant zu haben, von dem aber nur einzelne Bruchstücke als Balladen vorhanden sind. Die tragische Geschichte vom alten Vandalenkönig Gelimer, um den sich der Feinde Kreis immer enger zieht und der an sie einen Boten schickt

¹⁸ Grimm, No. 14; Kopisch, *Das Wunder im Kornfeld*. Vgl. auch Uhland, *Die Geisterkelter*.

¹⁹ Vgl. Simrock, *Mythologie*, 6. Aufl. S. 409; Götzinger, *Deutsche Dichter*, 3. Aufl., II, 71.

mit dem Gesuch um eine Zither, Brot und ein Tuch, das Brot zum Essen, das Linnen seine rotgeweinten Augen zu trocknen und die Zither, damit er sein Schicksal beklagen kann, hat Kopisch ohne jeden Reiz wiedergegeben. Grimms nackte Tatsachen sind diesem Gedichte vorzuziehen. Etwas besser ist die blasse Ballade von Simrock, *Die drei Bitten*.

Wie der Sagenkreis der Langobarden der schönste ist, so ist ihm auch am meisten Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt worden. Die längste Dichtung ist der Balladenzyklus von Wilhelm Hertz, *Albwin der Langobarde*. Es ist eine der besten Leistungen des Dichters und gehört zu den kernigsten Sagenballaden überhaupt. Die sechs Gedichte geben in der Nibelungenstrophe den Inhalt zweier Sagen der Brüder Grimm wieder (No. 400, 401). Die erste Romanze schildert den Kampf zwischen Albwin und Cunimund, Cunimunds Tod und Rosimundens Raub. In der zweiten Ballade stockt die Handlung etwas, da nur die Empfindungen Albwins, der sich vom Königsberg aus in die Betrachtung Italiens versenkt, dargestellt werden. Dann wird das Siegesmahl, bei dem Albwin die Liebe seiner neuen Königin verwirkt, beschrieben. Es ist der Gipfelpunkt der Aktion und die Handlung stürzt nun der Katastrophe zu. Im nächsten Bild erfahren wir den Fortgang der Verschwörung gegen den König. Hier fügt Hertz ein Liebesverhältniss zwischen Helmichis und Rosimunde hinzu, wodurch wir seitens Helmichis eine wirkliche Motivierung für den Königsmord, die bei Grimm fehlt, erhalten. In einem grauenhaften Bild sehen wir den heroischen Tod Albwins und dann folgt noch das tragische Nachpiel, wo die beiden Mörder und die Königin ihre Sünden büssen müssen. Der ganze Zyklus bildet ein dramatisches Gedicht von höchster Kraft.²⁰

Ferner hat Hertz noch zwei Langobardenballaden geschrieben. Die eine, *Der Heruler Ende* (1855) ist bei Grimm *Rodulf und Rumetrud* (No. 395). Die Ballade schliesst sich Grimm genau an mit Ausnahme des von Hertz weggelassenen Schlusses vom Ermorden der Heruler, die durch ein Flachsfeld schwimmen wollen. Hertz will die ganze Aufmerksamkeit auf Rodulf richten, der die

²⁰ Zwei andere Dichtungen, die diese Tragödie zum Gegenstand haben, sind noch zu erwähnen: O. F. Gruppe, *Alboin, der König der Langobarden* (1830) und J. G. Fischer, *Rosamunde* (Benzmann, II, 35). In einem anderen Gedicht behandelt Gruppe die Geschichte von *Theudelinde, Königin der Langobarden* (1849), Grimm, No. 405.

Strafe für seine Gleichgültigkeit während der Schlacht leidet. *König Autharis Brautschau* (1855) ist nach Grimms *Sage von Authari* (No. 402) und von geringerem Wert. Archaismen sind hier häufig, werden aber später (in *Albwin*) von Hertz spärlicher verwendet.

Die Balladen von Kopisch stehen entschieden hinter denen von Hertz zurück. Besser als *Alboin vor Ticinum* (Grimm, No. 398) und *Der Langobarden Grenzstein* (No. 403) ist das lebhaftes Gedicht *Lamissios Kampf mit der Amazonenkönigin* (No. 394), eins seiner kräftigsten Stücke. Es ist das oben erwähnte Bruchstück aus dem Langobardenepos.

Von den Erzählungen aus den Hunnenkriegen haben wir nur einzelne Bearbeitungen zu verzeichnen. *Aquileja* (Grimm, No. 382) von Kopisch, erzählt die Zerstörung der Langobarden Hauptstadt. Gelungener ist *Der Kleine Grimoald* (Grimm, No. 406) von demselben Dichter. Nur der letzte Teil der Grimmschen Sage wird gegeben: die Flucht der Königssöhne aus der verratenen Stadt und die Heldentat des kleinen Grimoald.

So weit die Sagen von der Völkerwanderung. Die nächste historische Figur um die sich Sagen sammelten ist Kaiser Karl. In nur wenigen Fällen jedoch treffen die vielen Gedichte und Balladen von Kaiser Karl mit den Erzählungen in den *Deutschen Sagen* zusammen. Das hervorragendste Stück ist *Der Frankenbergersee bei Aachen* (1817) von Wilhelm Müller. Allerdings scheint Müller aus der *Kaiserchronik* (Massmann, III, 1020 ff.) geschöpft zu haben, obgleich die Fabel ganz mit Grimm (No. 458) übereinstimmt. Die Gründung der Stadt Frankfurt (No. 455) hat Kopisch zum Gegenstand seiner Ballade *Frankfurt am Main* genommen.

Die Beziehungen Karls des Grossen zu den heidnischen Germanen treten auch in etlichen Sagen hervor und zwar in zwei Geschichten entgegengesetzten Ausgangs: der Empfang der Taufe durch Wittekind und die Zurückweisung des Christentums durch Ratbod, den Friesenfürsten. In einer mystischen Ballade hat Platen ersteres Sujet vorgenommen unter dem Titel *Wittekind* (No. 453). Wuchtig ist die Geschichte Ratbods (No. 451) aber die Bearbeitungen von Hertz und Karl Lappe sind dafür weniger interessant.²¹

²¹ Siehe auch Otto Ernst, *Ratbod* (Gartenlaube, 1905, Heft 1); Martin Greif, *Ratbod* (Gesammelte Werke, I, 377); Friedrich Halm, *Wittekind*.

Es hätte keinen Zweck jeder Erscheinung des Barbarossa in der Balladenliteratur nachzuspüren, da die *Deutschen Sagen* hier wahrscheinlich von wenig Einfluss waren. Nennen lassen sich: *Barbarossa* von Fr. Rückert, *Friedrich der Rotbart* von Grabbe und *Barbarossa im Kyffhäuser* von Ludwig Bechstein. Letzteres Gedicht ist besonders gelungen und stimmt überein mit Grimm, No. 297. Kaisersagen sind auch noch vorhanden von Heinrich I. (No. 470). Aber es ist zweifelhaft, ob J. N. Vogl in *Heinrich der Vogler* und Strachwitz in *Heinrich der Finkler* Grimm als Quelle benutzten.

Es wird vom Markgrafen Friedrich von Thüringen manches erzählt. Er hatte auf der Backe eine Schramme, die von einem Bisse seiner Mutter herrühren sollte, da sie vor dem Grafen, seinem Vater, fliehen musste (No. 566). Die Sage wurde öfter vorgenommen u.a. von Fr. Halm, *Friedrich mit der gebissenen Wang*, und von Gerok. Geroks Gedicht ist von Halm, der den Balladenton viel besser getroffen hat, abhängig, wie sich aus mehreren Kleinigkeiten im Sprachgebrauch erschliessen lässt.²² Aus dem späteren Verlauf des Markgrafen Leben ist die darauffolgende Sage, *Markgraf Friedrich lässt seine Tochter säugen* (No. 567) von Kopisch erzählt worden.

Das Motiv vom zurückkehrenden Grafen, der seine Gemahlin bei ihrer zweiten Hochzeit antrifft, ist überall zu finden. Dieses Motiv kehrt wieder in der Sage von Heinrich dem Löwen, Herzog von Braunschweig (No. 526), die von Julius Mosen bearbeitet worden ist. Kerners *Graf Olbertus von Calw* (No. 530) ist schon erwähnt worden.²³ Mit einer geringen Änderung erscheint die Sage wieder beim *Graf von Gleichen* (No. 581), von Platen benützt.

²² Z. B. das Wort *Schlafklosett*; der Vergleich der schlafenden Knaben mit Rosen; und am Ende der Vers: "Mag die Wange bluten, mein Herz das blutet mehr," der bei Gerok lautet: "Lang blutet ihm die Wange, doch länger ihr das Herz."

²³ Entstand 1818. Erschien im *Morgenblatt*, 1819, No. 37. Am 18. Januar 1819, schreibt Theresa Huber an Kerner: "Die Redaktion bittet um die Vergünstigung Ihren *Graf Olbertus von Calw* nicht beiseite zu legen und masst sich an es für höchst annehmlich zu halten, dass zween wackere Sänger gleichen Gegenstand so verschieden behandelt, den Lesern vorzulegen. Sie haben den alten Balladenton noch mehr getroffen, als unser werter Conz (*Morgenblatt*, No. 9-11), da Conz wohl, mehr dramatisierend, das Mitgefühl beschäftigt, Sie mehr die Phantasie." Uhland bewundert die Ballade.

Die Balladen von K. Förster, *Graf Ulrich*, und N. Hocker, *Die Zöllner von Hallberg*, verarbeiten gleiches Material, haben Grimm aber nicht zur Quelle.

In einem kleinen Abstände gehören auch die Genovefa-Geschichten hierher, die Sagen von bewiesener Unschuld. Nur Simrock hat sich dieser Sagen angenommen in zwei Balladen: *Genovefa* (Grimm, No. 538) und *Der Ring der Genovefa. Itha von Toggenburg* (No. 513) behandelt das gleiche Motiv. Etwas abweichend doch im selben Sinn zu nehmen ist Ludwig Bechsteins *Elisabeths Rosen*, wo die Liebesgaben für die Armen sich in Elisabeths Korb in Rosen verwandeln, um sie vor ihres Gemahls Zorn zu schützen.

In den geschichtlichen Sagen tauchen die Todesprophezeiungen abermals auf. Schon Schwab in *Eberhard der Gütige* hat eine Phase dieser Erscheinung beleuchtet. Zur selben Gruppe gehört die Erzählung vom Stauffenberger, wo das Erscheinen des Fusses an der Wand den Tod des Ritters Peter bedeutet. Doch da die Sage schon längst bekannt war, auch durch Fischart, ist es nicht sicher dass Simrocks Ballade *Der Fuss an der Wand den Deutschen Sagen* (No. 528) entlehnt ist. Das Motiv der *Gäste vom Galgen* (No. 336), wo der Gastgeber nach drei Tagen bzw. vier Wochen stirbt, hat Anastasius Grün lustig umgedichtet in *Umheimliche Gäste*. Doch manchmal wird das Zeichen missverstanden und es bedeutet nicht den Tod sondern ein grosses Glück. So träumte Heinrich der Heilige von einer Zahl 6, die er in dem Sinn auffasste, dass ihm nur noch sechs Tage Lebenszeit beschieden seien. Er bereitet sich auf den Tod vor und führt ein heiliges Leben. Anstatt zu sterben empfängt er aber nach sechs Jahren die Kaiserkrone. Franz Kugler erzählt die Geschichte nach Grimm.

Fabelhaft grosse Sprünge sind stets ein beliebter Gegenstand der Sagedichtung gewesen. Der Mägdesprung im Harz ist bekannt und andere Gegenden weisen ebenfalls die Spuren solcher Sagen auf (Grimm, No. 130, 142, 319-322). Am bekanntesten ist die Geschichte von dem Räuber Eppela Gaila, den die Nürnberger fingen und erhängen wollten (No. 130). Strachwitz hat hierüber eine treffliche Ballade geschrieben: *Wie der Junker Ebbelin die Nürnberger foppen thät*. Eine andere Sage (No. 554) hat Kopisch behandelt in *Der Grafensprung bei Eberstein*. Der Mägdesprung im Harz (No. 319, 5) hat in Groote seinen Dichter gefunden.

Die Trümmer zweier sich gegenüberstehenden Burgen gaben vielfach Anlass zu Märchen von feindlichen Brüdern. Die bekanntesten sind natürlich die am Rhein und auf diese beziehen sich vielleicht die Balladen von Heine, *Zwei Brüder* und Anastasius Grün, *Die Brüder*. Die Burgen bei Göttingen kommen in Schwabs Ballade, *Die beiden Gleichen bei Göttingen* aber nicht bei Grimm vor. *Die Brüder*, von G. C. Braun, bezieht sich wieder auf die rheinische Sage.

Von geistlichen Fürsten gibt es ebenfalls ein paar Mähren wie die Sage vom Ursprung des Rades im Mainzer Wappen (No. 474), womit Kopisch wieder sein Glück versuchte in *Willegis*. Die Klöster sind vertreten in der Sage vom kampfeslustigen Heiligen Walther (No. 412), die Alexander Kauffmann bearbeitet hat.

Kirchen und Dome sind oft in geheimnissvoller oder übernatürlicher Weise entstanden. Es werden vom Teufel verschiedene Hindernisse in den Weg gelegt, doch manchmal auch von einem neidischen Nebenbuhler, der dann durch List überwunden wird. Der Kölner Dom ist der Gegenstand vielseitiger Bewunderung und Aberglaubens. Meister Gerhart hatte in seinem Übermut eine Wette eingegangen, dass der Bau vollendet sein würde, ehe man eine Wasserleitung für die Stadt Köln legen könnte. Er wusste nämlich, dass die Quelle unter dem Dome sprang. Sein Geheimnis wurde aber von seiner Frau verraten und im Zorne verfluchte er den Dom, er solle nie vollendet werden. August Follen hielt sich in seiner Ballade *Der Kölner Dom* genau an die Brüder Grimm (No. 205). *Der Dombau zu Bamberg* (Kopisch; Grimm, No. 483) bringt ein anderes Motiv: die List der Heiligen Baba, den Dombau zu beschleunigen. Ungemein widerstandsfähige Bauten sollen durch verschiedene geheimnissvolle Verfahren ihre Festigkeit erlangt haben. So wird zum Löschen des Kalkes Buttermilch oder Wein benutzt (Buttermilchturm, No. 180; Mauerkalk mit Wein gelöscht, No. 352). Franz Kugler in *Der Thurm von Thann* erzählt aus dem Elsass dieselbe Sage, welche Grimm von der Stefanskirche in Wien und von Glatz berichtete.

Eine Menge Sagen könnten unter der Rubrik "Rätsel" zusammengefasst werden. Ein Gebot wird durch eine eigenartige delphische Auslegung befolgt, wie im Märchen vom Fischermädchen, die zum König kommen soll, weder bei Tag noch bei Nacht, weder beritten noch zu Fuss, weder nackend noch gekleidet. Sie wickelt sich in ein Netz und kommt zur Schummerstunde von einem Pferde

geschleift. So sendet der Kaiser ein Gebot an den Landgrafen von Hessen, er solle einen seiner Knechte, der im Kampfe gegen den Kaiser in des Landgrafen Dienste eifrig war, in Ketten aufhängen (No. 570). Der Landgraf führt den Befehl buchstäblich aus, indem er Heinz eine goldene Kette umlegt und sie an die Mauer befestigt. (Kopisch, *In Ketten aufhängen*.)²⁴ Ähnlich ist das Motiv der Sage vom Grafen von Hapsburg, der sich rühmt, in einer Nacht eine Mauer um sein Schloss bauen zu können und dann die Burg mit seinen Kämpen umstellt (Grimm, No. 511, 558. Simrock, *Hapsburgs Mauern*; Greif, *Mauer über Nacht gebaut*, Werke, I, 383). Simrock hat die spärlichen Angaben der *Deutschen Sagen* beträchtlich erweitert. In denselben Kreis gehört die Geschichte von den Weibern von Weinsperg (No. 493; Kerner und Chamisso).

Locker anreihen kann man auch die Sagen mit dem Motiv der Gründung Karthagos: *Remigius umgeht sein Land* (No. 427) und *Heinrich mit dem goldenen Pflug* (No. 525), wo er das Land mit dem Pflug umgeht, indem er einen kleinen Pflug in der Hand trägt, u.s.w. Hier haben wir eine Ballade von Strachwitz, *Wie ein fahrender Hornist sich ein Land erblickt* (Grimm, No. 446). Die Sage vom Grenzlauf zwischen den Bewohnern der Kantone Uri und Glarus (No. 288) wurde von Greif behandelt in dem Gedicht *Rhätischer Grenzlauf*.²⁵

Die Sage von dem für seine Treue büssenden Hündlein zu Bretta (No. 96), von Simrock in Balladenform gebracht, und die von Graf Eberstein (No. 476) mit der gleichnamigen Ballade von Uhland, stehen vereinzelt da.

Die Balladen wie sie vor uns liegen bilden eine interessante, wenn auch keine klassische Sammlung. An der Sagendichtung haben sich meistens bescheidene Talente beschäftigt und zwar öfters die Sagenforscher selbst, wie das bei Simrock und Hertz der Fall ist. Grössere Geister haben ihre Stoffe anderswo gesucht; Uhland und Kerner haben nur einzelne Sagen behandelt und zwar sind keine der Uhlandschen Balladen nach den *Deutschen Sagen* gedichtet, selbst *Graf Eberstein* ist vor dem Erscheinen des Grimmschen Werkes geschrieben (1814). Gewiss bieten die Sagen Material, das in geschickten Händen ausgezeichnete Balladen geliefert hätte, aber scheinbar hat der Stoff zu wenig Reiz gehabt. Kopisch bei seiner

²⁴ Anders ist *Die goldene Halskette* von K. Simrock (Grimm, No. 469).

²⁵ *Gesammelte Werke*, I, 377.

Massenproduktion sind die Balladen am wenigsten gelungen. Von den zwei anderen eifrigsten Dichtern, Simrock und Hertz, möchte man letzterem den Vorzug geben. Er hat das Dramatisch-epische der echten Ballade besser getroffen. Wenn man irgend einen besonderen Sagenkreis erwähnen könnte, der mit besonderer Vorliebe als Quelle von Balladenstoffen benutzt wurde, so ist es wohl der Sagenkreis der Völkerwanderung und der frühen Kaiserzeit. Die örtlichen Sagen erweckten ausser bei Kopisch wenig Interesse.

Was Metrik anbetrifft, sind natürlich die verschiedensten Versmasse und Strophenformen vertreten, aber die Nibelungenstrophe ist erwartungsgemäss am meisten gebraucht worden. Die übrigen Balladen verteilen sich auf Strophen von vier und acht vierhebigen Versen mit einer Anzahl gemischter Strophen (fünf und sieben Verse). Annette von Droste schrieb in achthebigen Versen.

Jetzt ist die Sagendichtung so ziemlich verschwunden. Die eifrigste Tätigkeit entfaltete sich von dem Erscheinungsjahr der *Deutschen Sagen* bis 1860. Seitdem sind nur vereinzelte Balladen dieser Art geschrieben worden und die neueren Balladendichter haben sich ganz anderen Stoffen zugewandt.

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A GERMAN-ITALIAN SATIRE ON THE AGES OF MAN

The Bodleian ms. 'Can. Or. 12,' (No. 1217 in Neubauer's Catalogue) from which our satire is taken, is entirely written in Hebrew characters, and is a complete handbook of popular devotion as well as of popular diversions. It contains, side by side, liturgical hymns, prayers, biblical books, popular tales, riddles, a dialogue between Wine and Water, and two minstrels' songs ascribed to Elijah Levita, surnamed Bahur (1471-1549).¹ The scribe, Kalonimos, son of Simeon,² dates his work *Venice*, middle of Shebat (5)314 (= January 1554). It is not impossible that the author of our poem is the

¹ Cf. L. Landau, *Arthurian Legends*, Leipzig, 1912, p. xxix.

² Probably a member of the prominent Kalonimos family originally from Italy, which, after the settlement at Mayence and Speyer of several of its members, took, during many generations, a leading part in the development of Jewish learning in Germany. Later on, driven from Germany by persecutions, they went to Italy.

above-mentioned. Elijah Bahur. He was born at Neustadt near Nuremberg, emigrated to Italy and lived in Venice, Padua and Rome. The copyist's work is especially conspicuous in the Italian portion of the text, since his hand is German and not Italian. The Italian dialect is certainly not Venetian, although it has a Venetian colouring.³ The author may possibly come from Mantua, considering the hybrid character of the dialect, and that the Jewish colony there was large.

As to the source of our satire one would be inclined to look for either Italian or German examples, and more especially for the latter because of the numerous analogical compositions found in German literature and the extensive knowledge that Jews had of this literature. The author of our satire divides the life of man into twelve periods, in each of which, with the exception of the first and last, he is compared to an animal. Thus at the age of one year he is compared to a king, at three to a pig, at seven to a kid, at eighteen to a horse, at thirty to a fox, at forty to a lion, at fifty to a cock, at sixty to a dog, at seventy to an ape, at eighty to a serpent, at ninety to an ox, and at a hundred to a house in ruins. This classification is obviously intended to show the man in increasing power in the first half of his life and in gradual decay after his fiftieth year. The span of man's life is assumed to be a hundred years and is divided into periods which have their special significance, indicating his growth and development until he reaches his fiftieth year, and then his gradual decrease in power, physical as well as mental. This arrangement is very frequently met with in German literature. A Basel ms.,⁴ for instance, contains a composition in rhyme, which reminds us much of our German-Italian 'poem.' It runs thus:

x jor ein kint,
xx jor ein jungling,
xxx jor frisch man,

³ I have to thank Mr. Cesare Foligno, M. A., Taylorian Lecturer in Italian at Oxford, who, with admirable skill and untiring zeal, has undertaken the by no means easy task of restoring and amending the exceedingly corrupt text.

⁴ G. Binz, *Die deutschen Handschriften der Oeffentlichen Bibliothek der Universität Basel*, Basel, 1907, part i. p. 250. Cf. W. Wackernagel, *Die Lebensalter. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Sitten- und Rechtsgeschichte*. Basel, 1862, p. 30 ff.

xL jor wolgeton,
 L jor im abegon,
 Lx jor ein altman,
 Lxx jor schafs diner selen vor,
 Lxxx jor kinden tor,
 xc jor der welt ein spot,
 e Nun gnod sin got.

These 'verses' resemble ours in that they describe the man's age up to a hundred years, but the main feature, the psychological point, the animal in the man, is absent. We find the comparison of the different ages with animals in the so-called *Liederbuch der Hätzlerin*,⁵ where the zoölogical metaphors are fully represented. However, there still remain marked differences between the *Lied* and the German-Italian satire. It seems more probable that both versions go back to the same source than that the one should have been directly derived from the other, and it is still less likely that the Jewish version should have been derived from the German or, indeed, from any other European source. For the Jewish utterances about the ages of man go back to a very remote time⁶ and seem to have been very popular, so that they have even been incorporated in the liturgy not only of the Spanish and Portuguese but also in that of Polish and German Jews.⁷ Without taking into consideration the Biblical allusions to the various stages of human life, and the three-fold division by the later rabbis, viz., boyhood, youth, and old age,⁸ there are in the Midrash (before the ninth century) very frequent references to seven periods of life. The most striking of these references is found in *Ecclesiastes Rabba* i. 2, where the sub-division into heptads is expressed in the following satirical way:

The Seven Vanities of which the Preacher speaks correspond to the seven æons of man. At the age of a year he is like a king, put in a coach, embraced and kissed by all; at two or three he is like a pig dabbling in mud; at ten he bounds like a kid; at twenty he is like a horse neighing, beautifying himself and seeking a wife; when he has married he is like an ass; when children are born to him, he is as eager as a dog to get the means of sustenance; when he has grown old he is like an ape:—this only applies

⁵ Wackernagel, *l. c.*, p. 35.

⁶ Löw, *Die Lebensalter in der jüdischen Literatur*. Szegedin, 1875, 12-16.

⁷ See, for instance the Prayer Book ed. Vilna (Rosenkranz & Schriftsetzer), 1874, p. 4.

⁸ Löw, *l. c.*

to an ignoramus, but to learned men applies the word of Scripture (I Kings, i, 1) "Now king David was old": though he be old yet is he like a king.

At a later period this division is paraphrased,⁹ and another paraphrase is given in the *Midrash Tanhuma*, which at the same time represents the most striking parallel to Shakespeare's "Seven Ages." A perusal of the paraphrase will show beyond doubt that it suggested the German-Italian composition, in which the first three stages of man's life are almost a literal translation of the Midrash. In both versions the first stage represents the child of one year compared to a king, the second, when he is two or three years old, compared to a pig. The third period, which is not given any fixed age in the midrashic paraphrase, is in our satire limited to seven years, and in both versions this period extends to the eighteenth year, the year of maturity or of an ephebe. Both these age limits, seven and eighteen, may be due to the Athenian division of the different ages.¹⁰

That the puberty of man is reached with his eighteenth year is also expressed in another interesting Jewish division of the ages of man. It is the twenty-fourth paragraph of the last chapter of the *Sayings of the Fathers*¹¹ which has become very popular owing to the insertion of this chapter into the Jewish prayer books. Though the points of contact can hardly be accidental I do not see any direct dependence between the two latter versions, but I think there is no doubt that the German-Italian satire has drawn largely on the *Midrash Tanhuma*. For, apart from the first three stages of life, where they correspond almost literally, the fourth is also strikingly similar, and the eighth and ninth stages of the 'poem,' too, find their analogues in the last two stages of the Midrash, where the man is compared to the hound and ape, and here again the last one is almost a translation from the Hebrew source. It is not unlikely that the division of life in twelve stages is drawn from the same source as the contents themselves. For it is in the very same Midrash that human life is compared to the twelve signs of the zodiac.¹² The text follows:

⁹ Jellinek, *Beth ha-Midrash*, Leipzig, 1853, I, 154 ss. *Midrash Tanhuma*, Berlin, 1875, about the end of *Exodus*, p. 264.

¹⁰ Löw, *l. c.*, p. 4.

¹¹ Ch. Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1897, p. 96.

¹² *Midrash Tanhuma* in the Introduction to Haazinu; English translation in *Jewish Chronicle*, Nov. 23, 1894, p. 11.

f. 211b. DAS MENSCH GEGLICHEN . . . ZU EINEM MELEKH,¹ ZU EIN CHAZIR,²
ZU EIN ZICKLIN, ZU EIN FUCHS, ZU EIN LEW, ZU EIN HAN, ZU EIN
HUNT, ZU EIN AF, ZU EIN HÜS, ZU EIN SLANG, ZU EIN OCHS.

MELECH.

Ein kind vun einem jar
glich as ein nar, ein *tor*;
doch tuot man im sin beger,
glich as es ein kunig wer.

5

Un' put di teta
uribel (uri) *malneta*
. . . port' grando amor
com' a un' re e grando sinior.

CHAZIR.

10

Wen es is drier jar eilt(!),
es hend un' fuos hat zu gewalt
es nit wil (!) sin un' witz hat,
es walt as ein *chazir*² im kot.

15

Cuma el [à] ani tre
son vestiment . . .
el n'à guardo 'sun al bel
el si volta entr' al fanga come un pureel.

GEDI. Ein zicklin.

20

Wen es kumt zu sibem jaren,
es macht sich hervoren;
es hat nit vil sin un' witz,
es springt glich as ein kitz.

f. 212a

Cuma el a di ani set
quest vera *dicret*
el no va ai dret
el salta coma un' *cabret*.

SUS. Ein pherd.

30

Wen es kumt zu jaren achtzehn,
es begint sich um zu sehn;
es suocht sich guot in den(!) welt,
as ein pherd, das do get zelt.

Coma el à di ani *dizot*
urmai è 'l crescuit di bot

¹ Hebrew for king.

² = pig.

2. MS. *torer*. 6. *uri bel uri*. Probably *uribel malneta* (horribly dirty). The accentuation is always strange: *téta* and *malnetá* are made to rhyme. 7. *unge umport* (sic). 13. The MS. may have had *elaani*; one *a* standing for modern *ha*. 14. MS. *gimtre* (?). 15. MS. *Soum*: the suggestion is very tentative. 22. MS. *di cret*. 23. MS. *nova aj dret*. Dr. Cowley suggests a possible slip of the pen transforming an *m* into an *a*. We would then have *mj dret*; the original must have had *mai* or *ma'*. The regrouping of the other letters is self-evident. 24. MS. clearly *cbaret*; the correction is obvious. 29. MS. *diz ot*. 30. MS. *urmii* or *urmai el crescuit*, probably to be read *cresciut*; the Hebrew scribe may have misread the Italian characters.

- el *st' in* quart *de tanto*
el va cumu un' caval dipurtanto.
- SHUAL. *Ein fuchs.*
35 Wen es kumt zu jaren drisik,
es sich zu alem *flist*;
er (!) ver liert sich in alen nist,
as ein fuchs mit aler list.
40 Cumo el à di ane trenta
del ben e mal el senta
el va atinder el so *fat*
cumo un' volpo quant . . .
- f. 212b. ARYE.
45 Wen er in di vierzig jar ist getreten,
so is er ein man besteten;
oder man furcht vor im hat,
as sluog in ein lew mit siner phot.
50 Cuma el à di ane *quoranta*
è el un 'um cum toto *pūsanta*
lo sofizent *è* scrot
cumo un' . . .
- THARNEGOLETH. *Ein han.*
50 Wen er zu den funfzik jaren hat,
mit sinen kindern er sich berat;
er nigs (!) one sîn kinder tuot,
as ein gluck, die ir huner hat ūs gebruot.
55 Cumo el à di ane zinquanta
di lo *sui* fiulj si *mentanta*
el fa qual chi lor vol
come un' *ciuci di* chiami so fiol (!).
- KELEB. *Ein hunt.*
60 Wen er kumt in die sechzik jar,
sîn kraft er mēn wen halb var lor;
er is guot in hūs zu aler stund,
das er zu dem hūs sicht as ein alter hunt.
f. 213a Cuma el à li sesanta ane intrad
el so *cun timp'd* mancad
sempar in pensir e grando pan
è 'l si bon in casa *pi* guardian, *cuma in* can.

31. MS. *stin*; *quart e dtanto*: *quart ed tanto* and *quarted tanto* would give no sense. 32. The form may be a gerund, with a *t* for the rhyme: or a pres. part. with an *o* ending for the same reason. 34. Perhaps originally *es is zu alen flizic*. 37. MS. *trinta* or *trenta*; the second has been preferred by reason of the rhyme, but an assonance would do as well. 39. MS. *pat*. 40. MS. *el liglis kat* (sic). 45. *k̄ranto*. 46. MS. *el*; we might read *è'l*, from *è el*. 47. MS. *sopizent*. 48. MS. *cume un' gerd doar port* (?). 54. MS. *s̄i piuli*; *mntntah*. 55. *pa*. 56. *ciuci* probably onomatopoeic for "hen," will in any case have been *ciami*; *di* distinctly so, it ought to be *chi* or rather *che*. 62. MS. *kuntimpa*. 64. MS. *el*; *pi* might be for *per*.

KOF. *Ein af.* 65

Wen er kumt in in die sibzik jar,
halber (!) er ver lor;
slafen un' essen un' trinken is im guot,
er sitzt, stet in den stul, as ein af tuot.

70

Cum el li setanta an à intrad nun è 'l piu
ancuntar
le mitar di manzar e bebar
nun val asar prigã
simpr seder cum' un' simia (sic) *ecadrigã*.

NAHASH. *Ein slang.*

75

Wen er achzik jar eilt (!) wert,
er get gebukt wis ùf die erd
im is die zit un' och die wíl lang,
er kricht ùf der erd as ein slang.

80

Cuma el à *ane* otanta soi renta
non à 'l puei pusanta
el non ben puei far guera
el va com' un' *vis* par tera.

f. 113b. SHOR. *Ein ochs.*

Wen er kumt zu niuzig (!) jaren,
do hat er al sin *hushim* vor loren;
er kan sich nit mèn der nern,
as ein alter ochs, der sich der *vliegen* nit kan
der weren.

85

Cum' el à onanta ani el cuminzã
aver malania el non sa
far nison ven
cum' el bo magir le musche . . .

BETH NOPHELETH.

90

Wen er is nun hundert jar alt,
er nit hat zu gewalt;
er wert kal un' glat as ein mûs,
er falt nieder as ein gebrochen hûs.

95

Cum' el li ani zenti a cumpii *mid*
toti le so cose va . . .
anchn vich cum' un' soris brobad (sic)
cum' un' cazi rota nun abitat.

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pe'; in evidently for *un*. 69. MS. *ana in trad*; *el biu ancuntar*. 70. probably the last letter in *mitar* should be omitted; *be bar*. 72. MS. *stimpr*; *e kadriga*. 77. MS. *ane*. 78. MS. *al*. 79. MS. *par guer*. 80. We clearly have here change of *b* to *v*, for *bisc*, *biscia*. 82. *hushim*, Hebrew for 'senses'; 'faculties.' 84. MS. *vlign* not. 87. MS. *par ni son*. On *ven* cp. note 80. 93. MS. *ani*; *mid* should probably be *cumpid*. 94. MS. *vagi pispid*: I cannot see the meaning.

ADDITIONAL PARALLELS TO AUCASSIN ET
NICOLETTE VI, 26

As a supplement to a note published in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXIV (1909), 73-4, the following parallels to Aucassin's doctrine of "heaven for climate, hell for company," may be of interest. Among the older *loci* in which the idea finds expression a sonnet in the *Mehabberot* of Immanuel Romi, an Italian Jewish poet (born at Rome about 1270; died about 1330), deserves a place. A literal translation of it would run as follows:¹

'My soul within me is minded to loathe Eden's garden and to desire Tophet, for I shall find there honeycomb and honey, there every graceful gazelle and the voice of the passionate girl. What have I to do in Eden's garden? There there is no loving one, but only women blacker than coal or pitch, there warty old women in whose company my soul is grieved. What have I to do with thee, Eden, thou who hast gathered together all misshapen women and all shamefaced men? Hence art thou reckoned as naught in my eyes. Thou, O Tophet, hast acquired grace and splendor in my sight; in thee are all gazelles clothed in glory, and thou hast gathered together all the delights of the eye.'

My attention was called to this sonnet by a very free German translation of it,² cited without indication of source in Professor

¹ I have used the Hebrew text printed at Berlin in 1796, p. 134.

² This translation, as Professor Israel Davidson of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, kindly informs me, was originally printed by L. Fürst in an article entitled "Manoello: Eine Erinnerung zur 600-jährigen Dante-Feier," published in the short-lived *Illustrierte Monatshefte für die gesammten Interessen des Judenthums*, (Vienna, 1865), p. 190. It runs as follows:

Zu mancher Stunde möcht ich gern erfahren,
Was mir beschieden. Ob im Paradiese
Dereinst ich Langeweile wohl geniesse,
Ob ich zur Hölle künftig müsse fahren.
Zur Hölle, wo die schönsten Mädchenscharen
Mich hold umgaukeln in des Traumes Süsse;
Wenn ich im Himmel Herrn und Fraun begrüsse,
Find ich sie zahnlos und von grauen Haaren.
Drum fort das Paradies, das von Matronen
Und Greisen wimmelt, alt und streng und hässlich!
Ist das Genuss, in solchem Kreis zu wohnen?

Oskar Walzel's *Einleitung* to a recent edition of Heinrich Heine's *Sämtliche Werke*.³ Professor Walzel quotes the sonnet because it seems to him to recall Heine's verse, and thus to serve to illustrate the importance of the racial element in the work of the German writer. Immanuel has been called "the Heine of the middle ages," as the Berlin professor notes, and there can be no doubt that there are similarities in the two poets, due in good measure to their common origin. Nevertheless Professor Walzel wisely points out that the resemblances are "allgemein und . . . wenig bezeichnend." He would have been even more cautious, had he used a literal translation, such as that given above, rather than Fürst's version, with its distinctly modern tone. There is comparatively little in Immanuel's sonnet that recalls Heine, except its theme, and this⁴ we have no reason to think Jewish in origin.

Immanuel's poem has additional interest as affording further evidence of the popularity of its topic in Italy. It thus supports the view⁵ that in attributing the idea of preferring hell to heaven to Machiavelli the latter's enemies were merely utilizing an old jest in order to discredit the author of the *Principe* in the eyes of the pious.

The ancient witticism has not lost its pungency in our day. As Professor J. E. Shaw reminds me, it crops up more than once in G. Bernard Shaw's *Man and Superman* (1903). The statue whom Don Juan invited to his celebrated banquet is "bored" in heaven,⁶ and announces to the devil that he has "left Heaven for ever" (p. 99). When his daughter remonstrates with him for coming to the underworld, he retorts (pp. 102-3): "Why, the best people are here—princes of the church and all. So few go to heaven, and so many come here, that the blest, once called a heavenly host, are a continually dwindling minority. The saints, the fathers, the elect

Nein, lieber in die Hölle! Nichts ist grässlich,
Wo Lust und Liebe jeden Menschen lohnen
Und selbst die Heiterkeit ganz unermesslich!

³ Leipzig, Insel Verlag, 1911, vol. I, pp. xxxiii-iv.

⁴ Cf. Suchier's note to the passage in *Aucassin et Nicolette*.

⁵ *Mod. Lang. Notes*, I. c., p. 74. My statement was unduly concise. Consequently Professor Villari (*Niccolò Machiavelli e I suoi Tempi* [Milan, 1914], p. 370, n.) takes me to say that Folengo attributes the idea to Machiavelli. Folengo does not mention Machiavelli.

⁶ Ed. New York, 1913, p. 93.

of long ago are the cranks, the faddists, the outsiders of to-day." Later on in the play we have the idea carried a stage further. After Wagner and Nietzsche meet in hell, (p. 137): "Nietzsche denounced him as a renegade; and Wagner wrote a pamphlet to prove that Nietzsche was a Jew; and it ended in Nietzsche's going to heaven in a huff."

Our idea recurs in Anatole France's *Ile des pingouins* (1908). During Marbode's descent into Hades he meets Virgil. The latter informs him that, when invited to go to heaven, he declined. When the author of the *Aeneid* is asked for his reasons, he says, *inter alia*, (pp. 151-2): "Et que deviendrai-je dans le séjour de votre béatitude, si je n'y trouve pas mes amis, mes ancêtres, mes maîtres et mes dieux, et s'il ne m'est pas donné d'y voir le fils auguste de Rhéa, Vénus, au doux sourire, mère des Énéades, Pan, les jeunes Dryades, les Sylvains et le vieux Silène barbouillé par Églé de la pourpre des mûres."

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ON THE SOURCE OF *COMMON CONDITIONS*

Professor Joseph de Perott of Clark University kindly calls my attention to the failure in my recent edition of *Common Conditions* to deal with the suggestion regarding the play's source somewhat casually thrown out in Marie Gothein's essay on "Die Frau im englischen Drama vor Shakespeare" (*Jahrbuch der dtsh. Sh.-Gesellschaft* XL, 1904, p. 25 f.). I hasten to make amends for the neglect, since the similarity between the English play and the Italian *Amor Costante* of about a generation earlier, is, if not convincing, certainly of sufficient interest to merit examination.

L' Amor Costante, one of the two or perhaps three comedies of Alessandro Piccolomini (1508-1578), later Archbishop of Patras and Coadjutor Archbishop of Siena, was composed, as the title-page informs us, for presentation on the occasion of the visit of the Emperor Charles V to Siena in 1536. (The title-page of the edition I have used gives the date erroneously as MDXXXI, in which year Charles was in the Netherlands). The play was acted by the Sieneſe Academy of the *Intronati*, of which Piccolomini

was a member. The British Museum possesses copies of two Venetian editions of 1550. That in the Yale library bears no date or printer's name, but has the device of Francesco Rampazetto, 'Et Animo et Corpori,' and is bound up with nine other works of the same printer dated variously from 1561 to 1564. One of these is Piccolomini's comedy, *Alessandro*, another the so-called *Comedia del Sacrificio de gli Intronati* well known for its connexion with Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*.

L' Amor Costante is a rather dull play. Apart from its source relations, the most interesting things about it are the extravagant praise of the Emperor dragged into the dialogue and the introduction of several characters who speak their parts wholly in Spanish—doubtless a courteous concession to Charles and his Spanish retinue. It should be remembered that at the time of his visit to Siena, Charles V was engaged in marshaling his forces for the opening of hostilities with France. Even under these circumstances, the glorification of the Emperor at the expense of the Pope and the following bold words regarding the reformation of the Church, near the close of the first act, may be regarded as surprising in an author known also as one of the great dignitaries of the Roman Church:

"Io ci ho pensato spesso ancor io," says the wise old Guglielmo, "& mi risoluo che questa reformatione della Chiesa con tutte l'altre grandi imprese necessarie al mantenimento della Christianità, si riserbino & sien destinate a questo Imperadore, ilquale se noi ben tutte le cose passate, & le parti sue consideriamo, hauiam da giudicare esser nato per acquistar la gloria & la resuscitatione del nome Christiano per tutto il mondo."

The story of the play, in so far as it bears any resemblance to *Common Conditions*, is correctly sketched by Frl. Gothein. The points in common and the differences in development may be listed as follows:

1. In each play, a father, banished from his native land, becomes separated from his son and daughter. In the English play the exile is due to the slander of enemies, in the Italian to the premature discovery of an insurrection. In the English play the son and daughter, already adult when the banishment takes place, set out together to follow the father and are separated from each other by incidents of the journey; in the Italian work the son (at

the age of seven) had already been sent to the Roman court before his father's exile.

2. In both plays the daughter marries a young man, flies with him over seas, and is separated from him as a result of the capture of their vessel by pirates. In the Italian play they flee from the lady's uncle who will not consent to their marriage; in the English, conversely, they flee from the lady's jealous mother-in-law to seek refuge with her uncle in Thrace.

3. In both plays the daughter, after being separated from her husband, finds refuge with an old gentleman, who in the Italian work is and in the English may be her unrecognized father. Here she is seen by her brother, who vainly seeks her love. Father, son, and daughter remain quite unaware of their relationship.

4. Finally, in both plays the absent husband rejoins the daughter secretly. They are discovered by a female attendant, accused before the father-guardian of intentions upon his life, and threatened with death themselves.

5. One other resemblance exists in that in both plays the unknown brother is himself beloved by a physician's daughter. In the English play, however, the physician is a comic type speaking a grotesque Spanish-English jargon; the love-suit of his daughter is rejected by the brother on general grounds before he falls in love with his unrecognized sister; and there is no indication of his later experiencing a change of heart regarding the former. In the Italian play, the physician is a very worthy and serious citizen; the reason for the brother's indifference to his daughter is that he is already in love with the sister; and in the end the two are happily married.

Such—with the significant differences noted—are the points which the two plays have in common. Frl. Gothein is far from asserting that the comedies are at all similar in general effect. It is, indeed, doubtful whether the actual resemblances would appear at all to many readers, so embedded are they in matter totally unrelated. In the names of characters, the scenes of the action, and in dramatic atmosphere *Common Conditions* is as unlike *L'Amor Costante* as possible. Piccolomini's comedy is distinctly bourgeois and contemporary in tone. The scene is laid throughout in Pisa, and the dramatic action covers only a very short time. The English play is exuberantly romantic, and the scene ranges

wildly through Arabia, Phrygia and even more exotic localities. The Italian comedy is in five acts and in prose, the English has no act or scene division and is composed in the riming heptameter couplets, which represent the most complete antithesis to conversational prose and in English dramatic evolution seem to mark a stage antecedent to the study of Italian models. Frl. Gothein recognizes that the English poet can have employed *L'Amor Costante* "nur als Stoffquelle, setzt sich aber in der dramatischen Behandlung in direktem Gegensatz zu dem Italiener." Of the similar details of plot listed above, many are mentioned only in the Prologue or in other retrospective allusions in Piccolomini's play, not being dramatized there at all. Between no two particular scenes of the two works is there any clear relation. The Italian comedy has no hint of the pivotal figure in the English play: *Common Conditions*, the Vice; nor has the English comedy anything suggestive of the only striking dramatic situation in the Italian—a situation which is particularly advertised on the title-page and to which the last two acts are mainly devoted—where the amorous brother, refusing to believe the accusation against Lucrezia, arms his friends to save her by force from the impending punishment. To all this should be added the fact that in *L'Amor Costante* the distinct center of dramatic interest is the brother-lover, whereas his counterpart in *Common Conditions* stands but a bad third in importance among the male figures.

Frl. Gothein's conclusion regarding the relation of the two plays offers two alternatives. There can hardly be any doubt, she thinks, "dass das italienische Stück dem englischen Dichter vorlag, es sei denn dass sich eine gemeinsame Quelle für beide fände." The former inference—that the author of *Common Conditions* borrowed directly from Piccolomini—does not appear fairly deducible from the rather general similarities, and it seems almost out of the question when one considers the total divergence of the two comedies in all their essential dramatic values. Remembering the close discipleship shown in the contemporary or slightly later English comedies which we know to be based on Italian models—Gascoigne's *Supposes* and Ariosto's *Suppositi*, *The Bugbears* and Grazzini's *La Spiritata*, *Fedele and Fortunio* or its Latin counterpart *Victoria* and Pasqualigo's *Il Fedele*, the Latin *Laelia*, or even Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, and *Gli Ingannati*—it is hard to

believe that an English author of the rude period of 1575, writing with his eye on *L'Amor Costante*, should either have desired or have been able to bury so effectually all the important structural characteristics of his prototype.

Frl. Gothein's alternative suggestion, that the two plays have a common origin, may perhaps better repay study; but even the collateral relationship is not likely to have been close. Professor Creizenach, who in a footnote makes mention of Frl. Gothein's discovery of 'die auffälligen Übereinstimmungen' between the two comedies, characterizes the action of *Common Conditions* as "ein wunderliches Gemisch von Motiven des griechischen Romans, des Ritterromans und der italienischen Komödie." (*Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, IV, 22). A student of comparative literature and of folklore could doubtless trace out a long genealogy for the particular fable peculiar to both Piccolomini and the English author—the fable of the father, son, daughter, and daughter's husband, who after long separation are suddenly brought together by fate in a distant land, where each remains long ignorant of the others' identity. In the Englishman's development of this theme I find nothing however to suggest that he was familiar either with the general method of Italian comedy or with the plot of Piccolomini's play.

These are general considerations. There is also a specific piece of evidence adverse to Frl. Gothein's theory. The newly recovered title-page of *Common Conditions* expressly declares the comedy to be "drawne out of the most famous historie of *Galiarbus* Duke of *Arabia*, and of the good and euill successe of him and his two children, *Sedmond* his sun, and *Clarisia* his daughter." Though nothing is now known of this 'famous historie,' it seems unwarrantable to assume that it did not exist, that it was a mere blind, invented by a curiously perverse dramatist to disguise his borrowing from Piccolomini's play of *Pedrantonio* of Castile, his son *Ioanoro*, and his daughter *Ginevra*.

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CHAUCER'S MONK AND NUN'S PRIEST

When Harry Bailey calls upon Dan Piers, the Monk, to abide by the agreement and tell a tale, the "fair prelat," who is no devotee of literature, and who prefers "pricking and hunting of the hare" to poring over a book in the cloister, feels that a moral and serious tale will be expected from a man of his high position in the clerical profession. He has no large store of literary material to draw from, but he remembers something of the life of St. Edward and also calls to mind a volume of a hundred "tragedies" which he keeps in his cell. He thereupon begins to narrate a series of entirely conventional anecdotes of the fall of great men. *The Monk's Tale* is a good example both of medieval pedantry and of the *exemplum* type of literature. The moral of the tale, "ful sooth and ful commune," is the platitude with which the Monk begins:

For, certein, whan that fortune list to flee,
Ther may no man the course of hir withholde;
Let no man truste on blinde prosperitee;
Be war by thise ensamples trew and olde.

This moral is repeated at the end of many of the anecdotes (cf. ll. 3326-32, 3429-36, 3587-9, 3820, 3914-16, 3953-56). This notable truth, then,—truly a "sovereign notability"—must have been made very obvious to the most dull-witted person of the company. If Dan Piers had been allowed to finish the tale, the moral would doubtless have been repeated many times more.

But Dan Piers was rudely interrupted. This conservative style of fiction did not please the holiday-making pilgrims. The Host, as Professor Kittredge has so delightfully shown, feels that this tale is probably the proper thing, and that he must not display his lack of taste by protesting against its continuance—for the Monk is, after all, a gentleman and a scholar, and the Host one of the "burel folk." The latter is, however, tremendously relieved when the Knight, another gentleman, and one whose taste no one would have the temerity to question, takes upon himself the responsibility of stopping the platitudinous moralizing. Courtesy now demands that the Monk be given another chance to entertain the company, and the Host suggests that he turn from his vocation to his avocation, and tell a tale of the hunt. But the Monk has more

dignity to support than the "elvish" Chaucer, who recently, in similar circumstances, has meekly followed the Host's advice and made a second venture, and the Monk replies that he "won't play" ("I have no lust to pley"). His dignity is a bit ruffled, his sententious wisdom is unappreciated.

Something must be done, and done at once, to save the situation; the last two pilgrims, Chaucer and the Monk, have been conspicuous failures, for though Chaucer has been allowed to finish the *Tale of Melibeus*, there has been no enthusiastic comment upon it, and the Host has broken the embarrassing silence which must have followed its conclusion with the remark that it would do his wife good to hear this tale. What, then, can be done to break the tradition of boredom? The Host's glance lights on the twinkling eyes of the youthful chaplain of the Lady Prioress, the Nonne Preest, a handsome, strong, rosy-cheeked youngster, with a sense of humor unequalled in the company. "This swete preest, this goodly man, Sir John," is requested to enliven the spirits of the company with a merry tale.

Our new acquaintance, Sir John, is unquestionably a gentleman—none but a gentleman could be in the retinue of Madam Eglantine. He is keen and alert in mind and body, and possesses a delightful sense of the ridiculous. His elder, and ecclesiastical superior, the Monk, is a rich, prosperous, well-bred, elaborately dressed gentleman, of little wit and much dignity. Sir John is frankly amused by his sententiousness and his "strutting" manner, but as a gentleman he cannot openly display his amusement. There can be no such direct personal encounter between him and the Monk, as between the Miller and the Reve, the Friar and the Somnour. Dan Piers reminds Sir John irresistibly of a sleek and pompous, well-groomed rooster; and when the Host calls upon him, the humble chaplain, for a tale, the old, old story, the familiar *exemplum*, of the Cock and the Fox, comes to his mind,—a moral tale, proper to a churchman. In this tale he can deftly satirize the personal characteristics and the literary style of his predecessor without for a moment arousing the suspicion of his dignified superior. Dan Piers would probably scarcely condescend to listen to the humble chaplain's homely tale; and if he should, he would be the last to recognize any resemblance between himself and Chauntecleer, or between his wisdom and the platitudes uttered by the rooster.

Probably none of the pilgrims, save only one Geoffrey Chaucer, saw the point of the chaplain's satire, at least there is no indication in the Epilogue that the application was recognized; nor, so far as I can discover, has any modern critic seen this subtle burlesque, up to this year of 1916, when a Yale undergraduate, Mr. Samuel Sloan Duryee, of the class of 1917, made two suggestions to me which were the starting point of the present paper. His first suggestion was that Chauntecleer resembled the Monk; his second was that it was significant that the last *exemplum* which the Monk is allowed to narrate, the story of Croesus, is repeated by the cock near the end of his series of *exempla*.

Chauntecleer's pedantic discussion of dreams is universally accepted, I believe, as a burlesque of the *exemplum* type of literature; the inclusion of the Croesus *exemplum* in Chauntecleer's list proves, I am inclined to think, that his long speech is a burlesque not only of the type in general but of the specimen of the type just furnished by the Monk. The moral of Chauntecleer's anecdotes is, to be sure, not the moral of the *Monk's Tale*, for Chauntecleer's purpose is merely to prove that dreams come true. But Sir John does not stop with a single moral; before he has gone much farther in his tale, he stops to moralize again, and this time the moral has a familiar ring:

For ever the latter ende of joye is wo.
God wot that worldly joye is sone ago;
And if a rethor coude faire endyte,
He in a cronique sausfly mighte it wryte
As for a sovereyn notabilitee.

The direct reference in the last three lines seems to me unquestionable. Here is a truism for you, a truism which the most conservative "rethor" or pedant, even Dan Piers himself, might "safely" utter in a chronicle, without arousing any suspicions of radical philosophy! What a "sovereign notability" it is that Dan Piers has introduced us to in his interminable tale!

There is in the *Nonne Preestes Tale* one minor echo of the *Monk's Tale*. The Samson *exemplum* has had a moral of its own:

Beth war by this ensample old and playn
That no men telle hir conseil til hir wives.

The Nun's Priest finds this moral, too, in the downfall of the great Chauntecleer:

My tale is of a cok, as ye may here,
That took his conseil of his wyf, with sorwe,

Wommenes conseils been ful ofte colde;
Wommanes conseil broghte us first to wo,
And made Adam fro Paradys to go.

If, now, this connection between the two tales is established, it not only adds appreciably to the charm and interest of the *Nonne Preestes Tale*, but has a certain bearing upon the problem of the correct order of tales, and the interpretation of the "Marriage group." Does the "Marriage group" begin with the *Wyf of Bath's Prologue*, or does it begin with Chaucer's own *Tale of Melibeus*? If with the latter, is not the Physician-Pardoner group out of place in modern editions?

The present paper does not contemplate a final answer to these questions. Its aim is rather to throw a little light on a difficult problem. My chief objection to beginning the "Marriage group" with the *Wyf's Prologue* is to be found in the tone of that Prologue, especially the tone of the first hundred and sixty lines. The *Wyf* is obviously answering someone,—her lines exhibit unusual emotion. She, or at least her manner of life, has been attacked, and she heatedly replies with an attack upon the clerical ideal of celibacy.

Now the question of celibacy is first introduced in the *Monk's Prologue*, when the Host makes clear his convictions on this subject with as astonishing a freedom of speech as the *Wyf* uses in her Prologue. The discussion is continued by the Host in the Epilogue to the *Nonne Preestes Tale*, where he compares Sir John with Chauntecleer, the "trede-foul." The link between his Epilogue and the *Wyf's Prologue* either was never written or has been lost. During this interval, I believe, other pilgrims were to be drawn into the discussion, among them the *Wyf* and the Clerk of Oxenford. The Clerk and the Parson are the two pilgrims who would be most likely to object to the Host's radical views. The Parson has already been silenced once by the Host, and would hesitate to start another quarrel; but the serious Clerk would feel it upon his conscience to defend the clerical ideal. In his defence he would offend the *Wyf*, who replies, with heat, in her prologue. The next morning, the Clerk is silent, avoiding further controversy, until the Host, who harbors no grudge, gives him his opportunity to continue his argument with the *Wyf of Bath*.

Not only is the celibacy discussion started in the Melibeus-Monk-Nonne Preest Group, but the tales of marriage begin there too. Chaucer's tale of the patient wife, Prudence; the Host's tale of his wrathful wife; the Monk's tale of the treacherous wife, Delilah; Sir John's tale of the foolish wife, Pertelote; are all part of the series which includes the Wyf of Bath, the wife of Sir Gawain, the patient Griselda, the Merchant's bride, and Dorigen, the perfect wife. Sir John's comments on women take on, then, a new significance:

Wommanes conseil broghte us first to wo,
And made Adam fro Paradys to go,
Ther as he was ful mery, and wel at ese.
But for I noot, to whom it might displese,
If I conseil of wommen wolde blame,
Passe over, for I seyde it in my game.
Rede auctours where they trete of swich matere,
And what they seye of wommen ye may here.
Thise ben the cokkes wordes, and not myne;
I can noon harm of no womman devyne.

Sir John, like the traditional Clerk attacked by the Wyf of Bath, reads, in old authors, stories of bad women. The Monk's story of Delilah has reminded him of them. But he is the servant of a very fastidious lady and is speaking in her presence; he, therefore, finds it necessary to make his criticism of woman as brief and as good-natured as possible.

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REVIEWS

The Cambridge History of English Literature. Vol. XII: The Nineteenth Century I. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1916.

The reviewer, embarrassed by the wealth of material offered him in this volume, of necessity relies upon the somewhat mechanical scheme of attempting a survey of the more noteworthy chapters, postponing till later in his notice some general considerations suggested by the work.

Mr. T. F. Henderson, continuing the studies in the literature of

Scotland that have appeared in earlier volumes, contributes the opening chapter on Scott. It has the faults and merits of the same writer's study of Burns in volume XI.¹ A pleasant if somewhat slow-moving essay, it dwells on such matters as Scott's ability to portray character, his wide sympathies, his historical inaccuracies. The grave error is made of considering him as an isolated phenomenon, unrelated to other developments in the novel. The account of Scott's literary growth is hap-hazard,² and there is practically no biographical information. Mr. Henderson has not written the authoritative article that one would look for in a standard work of reference. In marked contrast is Professor Moorman's study of Byron, perhaps the most distinguished portion of the volume, which combines happily the essential facts of the poet's life with much penetrating criticism. To some of us the conclusion that Byron's contribution to European thought was chiefly negative may seem merely traditional criticism. But we shall find satisfaction in the high general estimate in which his work is held. The chapter deserves to be regarded as in a measure a summary of the great mass of technical and popular literature on the subject produced during the Byronic revival of the last twenty years.

Professor Herford's studies of Shelley and Keats contain various judgments the validity of which one is tempted to question. This is specially the case in the chapter on Shelley. Thus, of the climax of *Prometheus Unbound* he writes (p. 72): "Jupiter topples from his throne, as it were, at a touch; indeed the stroke of doom is here so instantaneous and so simple as to be perilously near the grotesque." This remark exhibits a failure to comprehend the effect striven for by the poet. The passage in question is III, i, 63 f. Jupiter addresses Demogorgon:

I trample thee! thou lingerest?

Mercy! Mercy!

¹ Compare *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxx, 184.

² My colleague, Dr. H. J. Savage, calls my attention to the lack of any indication of the important part played by Norse studies in this development; on which see F. E. Farley, "Scandinavian Influences in the English Romantic Movement," *Harvard Studies and Notes*, 1903; it may be added that there is an unpublished Harvard dissertation by P. R. Lieder, in which Farley's conclusions are verified and augmented.

This is an instance of dramatic reserve. Between the first and second parts of the line the conflict, the awfulness and sublimity of which are left to the reader's imagination, is supposed to occur.³ Again, in contrasting *Prometheus* and *The Cenci*, Herford writes (p. 75): "That Shelley, after a few weeks' interval, could carry out, with unfaltering hand, and with supreme success, a poetic transition not less astonishing than would have been the appearance of *Samson Agonistes* on the morrow of *Comus*, marks his will power no less than his imaginative range." Surely the transition is overestimated, for there are very clear points of contact between the two works. and *The Cenci* has been regarded by some critics as hardly more than a reworking of the theme of *Prometheus*, the conflict of good and evil, the Count taking the place of Jupiter and Beatrice of Prometheus. Another point made with regard to *The Cenci* is aesthetically, perhaps even morally, questionable. "He is drawn with a reticence of which no Elizabethan would have been capable, and the horror of his act is so far mitigated that its motive is hate, not lust" (p. 76). Does this fact mitigate the horror? Is not Ford's interpretation of the theme psychologically and ethically more nearly sound in that the *love* of Giovanni and Annabella is emphasized, the fact of consanguinity being secondary, while in Shelley's play, upon the motive of hatred is superimposed *ab extra* the additional offence of incest?

In the two chapters written by Mr. Saintsbury we find those characteristics to which we must resign ourselves in all that comes now-a-days from his pen: much that is lively, something that is shrewd, everything that is unsystematic, formless, impressionistic. His helter-skelter classifications into "bunches" and "batches" are unconvincing; his constant allusions to his range of reading of authors that, as he says (p. 115), "bore a generation which thinks

³ Compare the restraint shown in Browning's first account of the murder of Pompilia and her foster-parents (*R. and B.*, I):

Wide as a heart, opened the door at once,
Showing the joyous couple, and their child,
The two-weeks' mother, to the wolves, the wolves
To them. *Close eyes!* [italics mine] And when the corpses lay
Stark-stretched, etc.

Compare also the unspoken but very dramatic judgment rendered by the "friend" who acts as umpire between the disputants in Meredith's *Ballad of Fair Ladies in Revolt* (stanza xli).

it knows everything already," are amusingly garrulous at times, but by repetition serve only to fill precious space that might have been occupied with a definite presentation of the *facts* of the matter under consideration. This is very apparent in the chapter on the Landors, De Quincey, and Leigh Hunt. The arrangement, for which the editors must be responsible, is ill-advised; Landor at least deserves separate study, and De Quincey is as much entitled to it as are Lamb and Hazlitt; while Hunt could have fallen in with the other lesser poets. To De Quincey is devoted less than five pages, an entirely disproportionate allotment as compared with that accorded his two fellow essayists. Moreover the reader who has found satisfactory sketches of the life of Hazlitt and of Lamb will turn in vain to the pages on De Quincey for similar information. Mr. Saintsbury declares that "biography, almost always unnecessary here, is, in this special place, almost wholly negligible" (p. 228). Why? And if generally unnecessary in this *History*, why is it supplied by nearly all contributors? In its place Mr. Saintsbury occupies several precious pages with the effort to prove the value and reasonableness of studying these three writers together. He then chats at length and quite agreeably about Landor, but manages to give less information in more space than is consistent with edification. Contrast the carefully ordered study of the same subject in Professor Elton's *Survey of English Literature*, II, 13 f. Slap-dash-ish criticism (as one can imagine Mr. Saintsbury himself calling it) runs riot in the chapter on the minor poets. Once more comparison with Elton's work is inevitable, and the study of the same groups in Walker's *Literature of the Victorian Era*, to which reference is made neither in text nor in bibliography, is far better than Mr. Saintsbury's. Nearly all the minor poets are included in this chapter, in one place or another (sometimes, as in the case of Hood, treated under several different heads, thus avoiding any possibility of a coördinated survey of their entire work). We look in vain, however, for George Croly and Professor Wilson, though *The Modern Orlando* of the one and *The Isle of Palms* of the other are as worthy of record as much that he receives into his chapter. Of individual judgments I note here only the surprisingly low estimate of the poems of William Barnes.

Several chapters may be passed over with a word or two. A. R. D. Elliot's account of the Reviews and Magazines of the early years of the century, excellent as it is and written by one who speaks

with authority on such matters, would have been of greater value had it been preceded by a chapter in an earlier volume dealing with the beginnings of such publications in the eighteenth century. It is perhaps natural that Mr. Elliot gives to the *Edinburgh Review* and its first great rival what must to the unprejudiced mind seem disproportionate space. The study of Hazlitt by Professor Howe (the only American scholar in the volume) and that of Lamb by A. H. Thompson require no comment. Mr. Harold Child's exalted estimate of Jane Austen can be accepted in full only if we limit very straitly the province of the novel; his failure to set her in relation to other writers results in an overstatement of her absolute importance. The same critic's account of the lesser novelists is meagre in the extreme.⁴ In a chapter that affords fine opportunities for his special qualifications Sir Adolphus Ward continues from earlier volumes his discussion of English Historians, in this case departing from strict chronological order to consider together the writers on ancient and ecclesiastical history, postponing historians of other epochs to a later volume.⁵

The subject of the Oxford Movement in its relation to literature has been assigned to Archdeacon Hutton who brings to his task the advantage of thoro familiarity and sympathy with his theme, an advantage that is in a measure offset by a lack of that objectivity that a quite unprejudiced writer, approaching the Movement from the point of view only of English scholarship, might so readily have furnished. Mr. Hutton at times exaggerates the value of the literary achievement of some of the Tractarians (and of those whom he chooses to consider Tractarians, for the embrace is very wide that includes Trench and Peacock). To say of some of Archbishop Trench's lyrics that they "belong to the highest flight of English poetry" (p. 302) is rather absurd; the statement that Isaac Williams "was a true poet, who, it may be, has not yet come into his own" (p. 294) requires the stern corrective supplied by Professor Walker: "Nothing he has written is likely to survive, or deserves to survive" (*Lit. Vict. Era*, p. 341). Writing of Keble as Professor of Poetry Mr. Hutton says (p. 293): "It may be that

⁴The name of Anthony Trollope's eldest brother was Thomas Adolphus, not Augustus (p. 273).

⁵Ward writes (p. 351) of the "logical discoveries" of Sir Henry Rawlinson. This seems to be a misprint, probably for "archæological."

the lectures he delivered, written, as they were, in the choice Latin of which he was a master, will never be read again"—a remark that betrays ignorance of the existence of the recent excellent translation by E. K. Francis, to which there is unaccountably no reference in the bibliography. Pusey's active coöperation with the Tractarians dates from late in 1833, not 1834 (p. 286). To class *John Inglesant*, even tentatively, with the novels of Miss Yonge (p. 307) is to undervalue Shorthouse's famous book. One misses in bibliography and text the name of Dean Mansel, important as controversialist, disciple of Newman, and stylist. More serious *lacunae* are the lack of any review of the political and ecclesiastical background at the time of Keble's Assize Sermon without which the genesis of the Movement is not accounted for, and the failure to connect the Movement with other branches of enthusiastic activity such as the teaching of John Ruskin and the practice of the Pre-Raphaelites and kindred spirits, or to trace the influence of the Catholic Revival upon the other arts, especially architecture and music. To touch upon this last subject would have been perhaps going too far afield.

The Rev. F. E. Hutchinson's study⁶ of "The Growth of Liberal Theology" requires some supplementary treatment of the influence of the scientific discoveries of the period. Lyell's geological investigations, revolutionary tho they were; the *Vestiges*; the climax of the scientific movement in 1859; the epoch-making Oxford meeting of the British Association in 1860;—these and other such events are passed over in silence. I confess to being puzzled as to why the work of George Tyrrell should be included in this chapter. The whole modernist movement of which he was so brilliant a part is in origins so far removed from the now rather discredited semi-rationalistic latitudinarianism of the mid-Victorian epoch, is so essentially allied to the liberal Gallican Catholicism of men like Father Hyacinth (who would have repudiated any connection with Broad Church thought), that it is hard to reconcile oneself to the presence of this mystic follower of Saint Thomas in the company of Whately, Jowett, Maurice, and Stanley.

Finally, there is the curious, garrulous, amorphous account of "Scholars, Antiquaries and Bibliographers" by Sir J. E. Sandys.

⁶I note an extraordinary blunder in the proof-reading of this chapter: "symbolised" for "sympathised" (p. 327).

The author of the *History of Classical Scholarship* covers even more briefly than in the corresponding portion of the recent abridgment of his *History* the field with which he is so well acquainted. One might expect that compression would result in more systematic outline, but instead we have a discourse in what scholars might call the Public Orator's latest manner, a quaint mixture of learning and triviality. Outside his own field Sir John is just as formless and no longer authoritative; note for example the slim page devoted to English studies, in which not so much as a poor line does honor to the memory of Doctor Furnivall. One longs for some keen generalizations, some evidence of breadth of vision, in the mass of details, names, titles, and dates, scattered so profusely thru this chapter; and one wonders whether the material dealt with therein is properly included in a history of literature at all.⁷

The Romantic Period to a greater extent than any other era in English literature demands, for its proper comprehension, some examination of the basic attitude of mind, the current theories, social, political, philosophical, that were dominant and whose strands are interwoven in the work of all the writers of the time. Some such study, not necessarily committed to one definite thesis like Watts-Dunton's "Renaissance of Wonder" (perhaps better not so committed), was an imperative need in this volume; and it is not here. Hardly an indication of the many and delicate threads that bind together the various strands of Romanticism is to be found. This is due largely to the exigencies of composite authorship, but some remedy might have been found in the shape of an introductory chapter dealing with the broadest aspects of the theme.

Between so many stools some things are almost certain to fall to the ground; in this case it is the drama of the period that has received the severest jar. It is ignored. This may be due to Professor Routh's absence at the front or to a surely unwise plan to take up the subject in volume XIII at the point at which it was dropt in volume XI. There is thus no account of the Elizabethan revival, no study of Milman's by no means despicable work in the drama (Ward himself speaks of him, p. 352, as conspicuous among dramatists), no barest mention of so important a landmark as

⁷ Note two errors of fact with regard to Mark Pattison (p. 371): he was Rector of Lincoln College, not Exeter; he published no book with the title *Essays on Scaliger*.

Maturin's *Bertram*. In Mr. Saintsbury's chapters the assumption is constant⁸ of the presence near-by of a parallel study of the contemporary drama.

Evidence of the lack of precise coördination in the bibliographies as in the text is at times apparent. Why is Symons' *Romantic Movement* listed among the Shelley authorities and not among those for Byron, Keats, or any other poet? Why is Herford's *Age of Wordsworth* noted for Hazlitt and not for any other writer? Why is there not a preliminary general bibliography in which such works as Symons' and Herford's and Elton's and Walker's and many more could have been listed once for all? Why are dates of birth and death supplied in the bibliography in the case of many minor writers and omitted in others (*e. g.*, Mrs. Trollope)?⁹

The bibliographies have all along been a most useful part of the three Cambridge *Histories*. In this volume, tho excellent in the main, they are so far from exhaustive as to omit various works of importance. The following list of *addenda* and *corrigenda* is a selection only from my marginal notes.

Chapter II (Byron): To editions of the works add: the *Cambridge Byron*, ed. P. E. More, and the *Werke*, ed. F. Brie, Leipzig, 1912. A section should have been devoted to Selections as in the case of the Shelley and Keats bibliographies. Among authorities add: E. H. Coleridge's article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., and Watts-Dunton's in *Chambers' Cyclopædia* (1903), vol. III; P. E. More, "The Wholesome Revival of Byron," *Atlantic Monthly*, Dec. 1898; George Rebec, "Byron and Morals," *International Journal of Ethics*, XIV; Ruskin, in "Fiction, Fair and Foul"; and Swinburne's "Byron and Wordsworth" in *Miscellanies*. It was of course impossible to include all dissertations and the several whose omission I have noted need not be here set down. A list of novels founded on Byron's life, such as those by Lady Caroline Lamb, Disraeli, F. F. Moore, and Maurice Hewlett, would have been of interest. Here, as elsewhere in the bibliographies, the error is often made of dating articles by their first appearance in book-form instead of by their first publication. This results at times in serious distortion of historical perspective, as when Macaulay's essay on Byron is dated 1853 instead of 1830, or Swinburne's earlier essay on Byron is dated ten years after its

⁸ For example, p. 123 with regard to Taylor; p. 234 with regard to Landor.

⁹ The Table of Principal Dates is not impeccable, Byron's birth being set back ten years.

original appearance. To John Murray is credited (p. 438) the authorship of *Lord Byron and his Detractors*. Murray wrote but one section of that book, the other two being by E. H. Pember and R. E. Prothero respectively.

Chapter III (Shelley): In section iii add: *Select Poems*, ed. W. J. Alexander, 1898; in section iv add: *Prometheus Unbound*, ed. V. D. Scudder, 1905 (the best separate edition); in section viii add: Arthur Dillon, *Shelley's Philosophy of Love*, 1888; Joseph Giesen, *Shelley als Übersetzer*, 1910; P. E. More, "Shelley," in *Shelburne Essays*; F. Olivero, *Saggi di Letteratura inglese*, p. 123-176 (especially on Dante and Shelley).

Chapter V (The Lesser Poets): p. 450: the Routledge Pocket Library edition of Rogers' *Italy* is not the same as that of 1830 with engravings by Turner and Stothard; p. 457, under Hartley Coleridge, add: *Poetical Works*, ed. R. Colles; p. 459, under Mrs. Hemans, add: *Poetical Works*, Oxford, 1914; p. 465, under W. S. Rose, add the translation of Ariosto, which is much better known than the Boiardo.

Chapter XII (The Oxford Movement): Of many omissions the following are specially noteworthy: F. Ware Cornish, *History of the Church of England in the Nineteenth Century*, II, chapters viii-xiv; C. T. Cruttwell, *Six Lectures on the Oxford Movement*; E. Halevy, *Histoire du peuple anglais au XIX^{me} siècle*, vol. I (contains an admirable study of religious conditions in the years immediately following 1815); W. G. Hutchinson, *The Oxford Movement* (contains a convenient reprint of eighteen important Tracts, including no. xc); S. L. Ollard, *A Short History of the Oxford Movement* (this excellent work appeared too late to be included). Tullock's *Movements of Religious Thought* and Gladstone's *Ecclesiastical and Religious Correspondence* cast light on various phases of the Movement. Under J. A. Froude, p. 500, add: "The Oxford Counter Reformation," *Short Studies*, IV, 151. To authorities on Newman add: L. E. Gates, *Three Studies in Literature* (excellent from the purely literary point of view); P. E. More's essay in *The Drift of Romanticism* [Have the compilers of these bibliographies ever heard of Mr. More's essays?]; Wilfrid Ward, *Men and Manners*.

Chapter XIII (The Growth of Liberal Theology): p. 509: V. F. Storr's work is *The Development of English Theology* [not "Thought"] in the Nineteenth Century.

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ERWIN STIMMING: *Der Accusativus cum Infinitivo im Französischen*. Halle: Niemeyer, 1915. 8vo., xl + 189 pp., with portrait. (Beihefte zur ZRPh., 59; Halle Dissertation).

The author of the present work was a young man twenty-five years of age when the outbreak of hostilities called him to the army and an untimely death in Belgium, Oct. 21, 1914.¹ A short biographical sketch, written by his father, Albert Stimming, himself an eminent scholar, forms the first portion of the book and gives witness to the noble and promising character of the son, whose portrait also appears as a frontispiece.

The study under discussion was begun at Göttingen and completed at Halle, where it was submitted as a dissertation for the doctorate and most favorably received. The author was able to correct the proof himself, working at his task until a few days before his actual departure for the front.

The origin of the A. c. I. (*Accusativus cum Infinitivo*) lies in the complementary infinitive. For an understanding of the latter a study of Indo-European usage is necessary, a phase of the question which receives an excellent treatment. Stimming shows clearly the character of the infinitive as a petrified case (dative or possibly locative) of a noun of action, *e. g. da bibere* (Plautus). The infinitive did not have tense or mood, nor was it necessary to state the agent. This complementary infinitive was gradually extended, from cases where purpose was clearly shown to a usage after transitive verbs. It is in this latter type that the A. c. I. can arise. It is found, for instance, with verbs of causation, permission and sense perception when the object of the main verb is also the subject of the infinitive. In the oldest Latin the A. c. I. was found after *verba dicendi, sentiendi, etc.*, and although restricted, due to the prevalent paratactic mode of expression, was still favored by the fact that these verbs could originally take a direct object of the person. When such an object ceased to be used, however, the former object of the main verb came to be felt more and more as the subject of the infinitive. Other causes helped, and an artificial use of the A. c. I. as a unit arose for stylistic ends. By the time of Classic Latin the A. c. I. was avoided in the very constructions where it had arisen, but was extended in its artificial form. Late

¹ The date 1915 given on page vii is clearly an oversight.

Latin writers, in proportion as they reflect the popular speech, show the reversion to the older and original status; *quod*, *quia*, and other clauses increase; the infinitive of purpose returns to its own, and the classic *iubeo(facio)litteras afferri* yields to the popular *iubeo (facio) litteras afferre*, as a result, not of phonetic confusion, but in harmony with the real nature of the infinitive.

There are therefore two types of A. c. I. in French, the popular one with verbs of causing, permitting, *etc.* and the learned type after *verba dicendi, sentiendi, etc.* The latter will be discussed separately later. It must be remembered that the Romance infinitive is more a noun, while the Latin infinitive is essentially a verb. The popular A. c. I. is not an independent unit, as its subject is always at the same time an object, and as the A. c. I. is not distinctly separate from other infinitive constructions.

In the case of *envoyer* (*vous m'envoyez chercher*) Stimming prefers to see, not an A. c. I. but a special form of the infinitive of purpose with verbs of motion. By additional examples with *mettre*, and *mener*, he then shows the close connection between this use of the simple infinitive and that of the infinitive with *faire*; the same relation can be seen especially well with *laisser*, from *laxare*, to let go. The first example of *laxare* with A. c. I. is in an inscription of the 7th century, but the change of meaning is complete by the Romance period. With *voir, entendre, ouïr, sentir*, there is no connection with the infinitive after verbs of motion. These are really accusative in function, and the construction is popular only when there is real sense perception. In his discussion of the agreement of the participle in these cases the author cites with approbation Morf's remark that while all the other verbs could conform graphically to the formal laws of agreement without effect upon their pronunciation, *faire* could not.

In regard to the reflexive, Stimming explains its omission in Old French as due to the noun character of the infinitive, a view which he correctly prefers to Muller's argument (*cf.* below) that the passive often replaced the reflexive in Late Latin. Though the absence of the reflexive with verbs of sense perception was nearly general until toward the end of the 15th century (and is still possible, as in a case with *voir* cited from Maupassant) the pronoun begins to be expressed toward the end of the 15th century and from the 16th century on is the rule. With *laisser* there is a retention of

the older usage, and while the reflexive began to be used scantily in the early 16th century, and then increased, there was variation throughout the 17th century. *Faire* retained the old usage longest; until the beginning of the 19th century the omission of the reflexive was the rule. The tendency is therefore toward the expression of the pronoun, and this may become general in the course of time, even in such remnants of the original type as *faire asseoir*, *faire taire*, etc.

In the matter of the dative to express the agent when there are two objects, Stimming covers independently the ground already investigated by Muller.² He decides, as against Tobler, that this construction arose with transitive verbs, and is in reality the dative of the agent of the passive verb. When the active infinitive replaced the classic passive infinitive the change was gradual and the syntax was left otherwise unchanged. Data are also given showing the increase in the dative agent in Latin, and the substitution of *ad* for *ab*. It is not difficult for the author to reconcile this explanation with that making the dative one of interest (Tobler's view). Further details of usage with *faire*, *laisser*, etc. plus a double object cannot be reviewed here. Suffice it to say that in Old French other verbs are found employed in the same way, e. g., *souffrir*, *commander*, *rover*, *covient* and *estuet*, with a dative of the agent.

Variation is found in the course of the language. Some verbs are used at one period with A. c. I., but not at another, e. g. *commander*. Full lists and discussions, with dates, are given. While the A. c. I. is still found with *voici*, though less often than in the 16th century, there are no examples with *voilà* after that date. Chapter VII contains an interesting study of competing constructions. Separate consideration is accorded the usage with impersonal verbs. As Latin said *me decet*, so Old French could have a direct object with *covient*, *estuet*, and analogically with other verbs; hence an A. c. I.

Whether or not there is a popular A. c. I. in Old French in which the subject of the infinitive is not also object of the main verb cannot be determined without a comparative study of the other Ro-

² H. F. Muller, *Origine et histoire de la préposition à dans les locutions du type de "faire faire quelque chose à quelqu'un."* Poitiers, 1912.

mance languages. Such a construction is indeed found after verbs of wishing, willing, thinking, saying, *etc.*, but rarely in original texts; in translations where it occurs more frequently, such as *Li Dialogue Gregoire*, it is clearly due to learned influence. A popular use is a possibility, however, as this type was found in Sanskrit and Anglo-Saxon, and must have been known to the Old Latin.

Chapter IX is devoted to a study of the learned A. c. I. as it developed in Middle French (ca. 1350-ca. 1600). The classic influence is strongly marked throughout this period, and a strong cause for the involved Latin style of the 15th and 16th centuries is seen in the translations of the 14th, which enjoyed great popularity and have not as yet been properly studied. An examination of Bersuire and Oresme reveals a strong increase in our construction, as is shown by lists. The effect was felt upon original works by the end of the 14th century, and by the 16th the A. c. I. is an extremely common stylistic device. Its learned character is strongly marked by the passive forms used, and by the presence of the pronoun as subject of an infinitive when there is no change from the subject of the main verb. The close connection of the whole type with the double accusative (*te bonum puto*) is well brought out, pp. 172-3. The construction was never well adapted for poetry, and though very common with certain verbs, was never felt to be pure French, even in the 16th century. Copious lists are given for the whole period, as well as for the following.

Finally the history of the learned construction from the 17th century till the present day is followed. There has been a steady decrease, which had in fact begun by the time of Malherbe. At present the A. c. I. is practically obsolete in poetry. When used in Modern French it is usually in relative clauses, but not exclusively. The author believes it possible that the usage will eventually be restricted to such clauses, or may disappear completely.

The work is a valuable contribution to French syntax, and represents a thorough and painstaking effort as well as keen appreciation of the relations in point. The lists given, though not offered as exhaustive, will be of great use. Especially to be commended is the author's preliminary study of the Indo-European infinitive, as well as the suggestive consideration throughout of competing constructions. A considerable portion of the field has been covered by various scholars separately, but the author is abreast of all the

modern material, and the general presentation is desirable, often completing the partial views previously at hand. Thus Stimming's work should be used to control and correct Muller's; he also adds an interesting chapter to Kjellmann³ (p. 104).

The following comments or corrections are given in the hope that they may add to the completeness and usefulness of the work.

A great obstacle to the proper use of the book is the division of the lists into periods, and the absence of a general index to pages. At present it is difficult to trace a given word throughout its entire history, as is well seen in the case of *connoistre*, which is said to occur in this usage first in Bersuire (p. 144). This statement refers only to the Middle French period; an example is elsewhere given from Gregoire (p. 117). Once, however, both authors are cited together (p. 155). In this connection *cf.* also *cuidier* and *feindre*.

One reason for this division is the author's theory that the early translations were highly learned, and that only in the 14th century was the influence of such works really effective. This statement, however, is true only to a certain point. The translation into the vernacular, though much influenced by the original, points *per se* to a certain desire for a popular appeal, and the great number of Bible translations at an early date must not be neglected. It seems all the more probable that Stimming overestimates the rôle of the 14th century translations when we consider the existence of the early charters. French was extensively used in legal documents throughout the 13th century, as will be seen by an examination of Teulet's *Layettes du trésor des chartes*; and the legal phraseology might well be expected to influence a semi-learned construction of the type under discussion. *Cf.* the following example, fifty years earlier in date than either of the translations cited: . . . *En tesmoignant toutes les choses devant dites, les convenenches et les jugemens estre vrais, etc. Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes, xxxvi, p. 240 (Ponthieu, 1322).* A study of the earlier charters from this point of view would doubtless yield results.

In an example cited p. 87: *Si se trova estre avocas* (Fabl. II. 266) the author explains the case of *avocas* as caused by attraction to the subject, but does not explain the real significance of the con-

³ Kjellmann, *La construction de l'inf. dépendant d'une locution impersonnelle en français*. Thèse, Upsala, 1913.

struction. Again, on p. 114, s. v. *feindre*, the example is given *Estre veritables se faint. Mahom.*, 411. As the Latin had *veracem simulans* Stimming considers this case of attraction to the subject probably "eine Korrektur des Kopisten, der die Konstruktion nicht verstand." There is a deeper reason here, however, and one which should be brought out. The type: *il se santi navrez a mort* (*Yvain*, 874) is a regular construction (cf. Tobler, *Vrai aniel*, note to line 147). Now the probable origin of the A. c. I. is in many cases to be sought in its relation to the double accusative (*te bonum puto*). Cf. p. 172 and reference. In the same way the addition of *estre* in these reflexive cases will lead to an A. c. I. with nominative agreement. Cf. also: *Ki voient soi estre als com uenkeor*, etc. Gregoire, p. 164/15-16. *Vid.* the example cited from Froissart on p. 158, s. v. *dire*, § 3.

In this connection it may be noted that the author devotes some space to the nominative with an infinitive (pp. 173-174; p. 182). This is the passive type: *pater visus est abire*. As examples from the Old French are rare, two cases found in Gregoire may well be cited: *Il fut conuz apres sa mort estre granz*, etc. (p. 142/8-9) and: . . . *Se li fous purgatoires apres la mort doit estre creuz estre* (p. 254/3). If the construction is rare in Modern French it is still a well recognized one with *censé*; three of the examples cited from Bergson are with this word.

The following miscellaneous observations may be grouped together. The special rules for agreement with *faire* plus an infinitive arose probably less because *j'ai fait* was considered a unit like *feci* (p. 57) than for the reason that *faire* and the infinitive were closely amalgamated. In the examination of the reflexive with *faire* (p. 67) a distinction should be made between essential and accidental reflexives. Thus in the passage from Jodelle, *Didon*, 187: *Toy qui fais les oyseaux se plaire dedans l'air* the meaning requires that the accidental reflexive be expressed. This distinction will be found to reduce the number of examples cited for the 17th century, and even the 19th has tended toward the essential reflexive conservatively. In the list on p. 165 ff. it would be advisable to distinguish between impersonal and anticipatory *il*. On p. 166 *souvient* should be struck from the list unless otherwise attested; *me* is dative here and the infinitive depends on *dire*. *Animer*, p. 176, is also to be rejected; the verb is really *sentir*. The example

with *avouer* from Flaubert is probably a simple infinitive, the *se* being dative. The case from Rousseau, *s. v. croire*, p. 177, must also be omitted. *Y avoir* is twice considered as taking a subject rather than an object: *s. v. assurer* (p. 155) and *prétendre* (p. 162).

Lastly it may be said that better results could be obtained for the modern period by a subdivision of the field. As this chapter stands Bourget is cited by the side of Scarron and it is impossible to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion as to present usage.

These minor details should not be allowed to obscure the positive value of the contribution. Erwin Stimming was looked upon by the faculties of Göttingen and Halle as a student of brilliant promise, and his work will commend itself. His death is a misfortune for Romance scholarship.

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A Handy Bibliographical Guide to the Study of the Spanish Language and Literature, with Consideration of the Works of Spanish-American Writers . . . for the use of students and teachers of Spanish, compiled and edited by WILLIAM HANSSLER. St. Louis, Mo., C. Witter, n. d. (1915), 63 pp.

As the title and preface indicate, this guide has been published to serve teachers, students, and librarians. It is more than a mere list of books, for it contains considerable pedagogic advice, and on occasion "*a word about reading poems*" (p. 51). Accuracy, conciseness, and discrimination are apparently not pedagogic virtues. At least they receive no concrete illustration in this ill-inspired compilation. It is with profound regret that one passes severe judgment upon a work that shows on every page boundless enthusiasm for all things Spanish from art to boarding-houses; but it is unfortunate that the editor attempted to guide others without having first-hand familiarity himself with the works upon which he makes bold to dogmatize. How different is the result achieved by Lucien Foulet in a recent work of somewhat similar scope: *A Bibliography of Medieval French for College Libraries*. In the first place, Mr. Hanssler's method is bad. When giving titles of works recom-

mended, he fails to give consistently dates and places of publication. Prices are never quoted. Old editions are listed where revised editions are accessible. Speaking generally too many titles are given, and the *Guide* in consequence fails to guide. The two or three best books in each subject ought to receive special emphasis, somewhat as seed and flower catalogues name "the half dozen best varieties for the home garden." Some such method is needed more especially in the chapters devoted to dictionaries, grammars, and histories of literature.

A word about the matter. In the chapter on literature, a syllabus of Spanish literature is provided, but no mention is made of the best available texts of the classics, medieval or modern. Among dictionaries one misses Zerolo's, which I have supposed to be the best modern dictionary for reference. Elsewhere (p. 22), Gorra's *Lingua e letteratura spagnuola delle origini* receives honorable mention, but it does not deserve such distinction, and is moreover out of print. So is Unamuno's translation of Wolf's *Studien* (p. 27). The bibliography of Fitzmaurice-Kelly's *History of Spanish Literature* (p. 27) is somewhat inaccurate. Why bother the "student, teacher, and the librarian" with Cappelletti's and Sanvisenti's *Manuali*? (p. 27). The latter, by the way, supersedes the former in the Hoepli series of manuals, but neither is worth a button. And why in a *Guide* mention Mérimée's *Précis* . . . (p. 27)? But the reader's patience is quite exhausted when he finds recommended such trash as Hume's *Spanish Influence on English Literature* (p. 29), or Gassier's *Le Théâtre espagnol* (p. 30), or when he reads (p. 37) that Fray Luis de Leon's *La Perfecta Casada* is "a most sensible little manual of domestic economy." Defunct journals like *La España Moderna*, *La Cultura Española*, *La Revista Contemporánea* are referred to as "monthly magazines published in Madrid," and the *Ilustración Española y Americana* is called a weekly (p. 59). For Mr. Hanssler, *Romania* is still edited by Gaston Paris and Paul Meyer, "the two leading philologists of France" (p. 58). The *Revista Española de Literatura* . . . "exists since 1901" (p. 58), but it is a well-known fact that such journals die young in Spain, and rarely survive the second year. To conclude, the *Bulletin Hispanique* is edited by "Ernest Merimée (*sic*), P. Parissaud (*sic*) and G. Civot (*sic*)" (p. 58).

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An Introduction to the Study of Language. By LEONARD BLOOMFIELD, Ph. D., Assistant Professor of Comparative Philology and German in the University of Illinois. New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1914. x + 335 pp.

Chapter I, The Nature and Origin of Language, begins with expressive movements and gesture language, and shows how language is a specialized form of these under the social control of a limited group. It emphasizes thus not only the psychological factors but the social factors as well. Again, in the next chapter, The Physical Basis of Language, the elements of phonetics are given, not only *per se*, but as dominated by psychic and social considerations. The Mental Basis of Language (Chapter III) presents the natural logic of language, the progressive analysis of the "blossoming buzz and confusion" of the total experience into its related parts. There is emphasis on the dichotomy of the process, whereas too many teachers of language still adhere to the various trinities of the scholastic formal logic. The Forms of Language (Chapter IV) embrace the linguistic hierarchy of inarticulate outcry, primary and secondary interjections, the conventionalized linguistic sign, the word, and the sentence. The precedent doctrine of psychology (individual and social) and of logic shows now in its basal values.

In this and in much that follows Professor Bloomfield bases his exposition on Wundt's *Völkerpsychologie*. Wundt's account is if anything too schematic—not quite what the intuitive genius of James would have given us if he had turned to language rather than religion. But it is the weightiest and most authoritative pronouncement we have, and it would be ungracious and shortsighted not to welcome this abstract in a language which those of our students who possess only a reading knowledge of German and French can understand. It is all the more acceptable for having been checked over by a competent linguist. For Professor Bloomfield is neither here nor elsewhere a mere purveyor of other people's ideas.

We have then, thus far, answers to the fundamental questions: Why we talk? How we talk? What we say? and How we say it? From these answers flows a really solvent understanding of the significance of idiom and accent, of change and history, of the aims and purposes of language study, concerning all of which misunderstanding is still sadly prevalent among teachers of grammar and the elements of foreign languages.

In the chapters following are treated: Morphology, Syntax, Internal Change in Language, and External Change in Language. The facts and principles here developed are on the whole more generally known and understood. As in the chapter on phonetics, much is gained here too by the consistent and vitalizing appeal to psychology and logic.

The illustrations are taken from a wide range of sources: Chinese, Greenlandish, Malayan, Mexican, Bantu, etc., as well as Semitic and Indo-European. In the Indo-European, Russian and Celtic are invoked almost as freely as the (among us) better known Germanic and Latin tongues, and Scandinavian as freely as German. English so far from thundering in the Index does not even raise its voice there! "And that was skathe." Paul has shown how we need not often wander far afield for our examples.

Chapter IX supplies the necessary applications to language teaching, with a generous faith in the direct method for which the pragmatic sanction is unfortunately still outstanding. The author very briefly surveys the history of linguistic study (Chapter X) and closes with a brief descriptive bibliography.

Professor Bloomfield has given us the first widely usable general survey of the field since Whitney. The English adaptation of Paul's *Prinzipien* never became naturalized in our classrooms. Sweet, whether in his *History of Language* (Temple Primer) or in the prolegomena of his *New English Grammar* speaks an idiom too exclusively his own. Oertel's *Lectures on the Study of Language* are a series of acute discussions of certain moot points. Giles, in the first five chapters of his *Manual of Comparative Philology for Classical Students*, has succeeded better than any recent writer in giving a truly popular-scientific presentation of linguistics: but he addresses a narrow audience and he slights psychology and logic. Clark's *Principles of Philology* has many of the virtues but also the limitations of Giles. Eustace H. Miles's *How to Study Philology* is hardly more than a clever quiz-compend for students who wish to "get up" the subject.

Professor Bloomfield's little volume will serve admirably its purpose as a general introduction to language study. It is well-informed, judicious, and sound. Proportion and emphasis are in the main just. The ordinary student will find it close reading, but well worth the effort.

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CORRESPONDENCE

ON THE SOURCES OF *The Maid's Tragedy*

Nothing appears to be known of the sources of *The Maid's Tragedy*. Valerius Maximus, however, narrates an anecdote (III, viii, Ext. 1), which would seem to have supplied one of the incidents. I quote the whole section, italicizing the relevant passages.

Conplura huiusce notae Romana exempla supersunt, sed satietas modo uitanda est. itaque stilo meo ad externa iam delabi permittam. quorum principatum teneat Blassius, *cuius constantia nihil pertinacius*: Salapiam enim patriam suam praesidio Punico occupatam Romanis cupiens restituere Dasium *acerrimo studio secum in administratione rei publicae dissidentem* et alioquin toto animo Hannibalis amicitiae uacantem, *sine quo propositum consilium peragi non poterat, ad idem opus adgrediendum maiore cupiditate quam spe certiore temptare ausus est. qui protinus sermonem eius, adiectis quae et ipsum commendatiorem et inimicum inuisiorem factura uidebantur, Hannibali retulit.* a quo adesse iussi sunt, *ut alter crimen probaret, alter defenderet.* ceterum, cum pro tribunali res gereretur et quaestioni illi omnium oculi essent intenti, dum aliud forte citioris curae negotium tractatur, *Blassius uultu dissimulante ac uoce summissa monere Dasium coepit ut Romanorum potius quam Karthaginiensium partes foueret. enimvero tunc ille proclamatur se in conspectu ducis aduersus eum sollicitari. quod quia et incredibile existimabatur et ad unius tantum auris penetrauerat et iactabatur ab inimico, ueritatis fide caruit. sed non ita multo post Blasii mira constantia Dasium ad se traxit Marcelloque et Salapiam et quingentos Numidas, qui in ea custodiae causa erant, tradidit.*

With regard to the main plot a suggestion or two may be made. Cornford, in his *Thucydides Mythistoricus*, 1907, p. 132, speaks of what he calls "the mythical type that normally appears in legend when tyrants have to be slain. The two brothers, or lovers, and the injured sister, or wife—the relationships vary—are the standing *dramatis personae* on such occasions." This formula pretty well describes the main plot of *The Maid's Tragedy*, and it seems not at all improbable that a search among such legends as those referred to by Cornford would furnish one fulfilling the two necessary conditions, namely, that of bearing a sufficiently close resemblance to the play to serve as a source, and that of being accessible to the authors.

A striking variation of the play from the formula consists in the facts that Evadne is herself guilty, that her ambition is partly responsible for her sin, and that her repentance is prerequisite to the punishment of the king, who is to fall by her hand. The drama

thus becomes a play of sin and repentance, highly seasoned to meet the tastes of a Jacobean audience, and these features are in all probability supplied by the authors. Nor is it at all likely that our presumptive source will contain any such figure as Aspatia, or any incidents corresponding to her relations with Amintor. Here again we may have the dramatists' additions, or perhaps, as in the case of the Calianax episode, some story hitherto unidentified may have been utilized. The plot of the drama is so very complicated that, even when we shall have done as much as has here been considered possible, a large allowance must still be made for the inventive genius of Beaumont and Fletcher.

If we should start with the story of Harmodius and Aristogiton, of which the friendship between Melantius and Amintor is strikingly suggestive, we might readily point out how the demands of the Jacobean theatre would build up out of that story one like that of the play. Hippias and Hipparchus become, as dramatic concentration would necessitate, one person, the king. The friendship of Harmodius and Aristogiton is retained, as it leads naturally to the interesting scene in which this friendship is put to the test; such scenes were common on the stage of the period. One of the friends takes no part in the conspiracy because there must be one prominent figure to represent the dominant political principle of the day, that of non-resistance; and his adherence to that principle is tested by subjecting him to an insult of an especially odious character. Changed ethical and social conditions of course demand that the attempt of Hipparchus upon Harmodius and the comparatively trivial insult offered to Harmodius's sister be replaced by dramatic motives more in harmony with English, or at any rate modern life. Dramatic interest is deepened and concentrated by making Evadne accessory to her own fall, by portraying the emotional conflict leading to her repentance, and by giving the punishment of her seducer into her own hand.

These remarks are purely speculative, and I was betrayed into them by the friendship between Melantius and Amintor, which seemed at first sight to supply a promising clue. It may be said, however, that if a brilliant Jacobean dramatist were to treat the story of Harmodius and Aristogiton, he would almost certainly introduce changes similar to those indicated. At any rate, a part of the play is unquestionably drawn from a classical source.

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Wieland AND The Raven

During a recent perusal of Charles Brockden Brown's *Wieland* certain words and forms of expression, besides the whole atmosphere and tenor of the story, began strongly to suggest to me Poe's *Raven*. The further I proceeded the deeper grew the impression

of an indebtedness, until at last I began to jot down correspondences. Some of the expressions in the novel which suggested to me the poem are the following:

"The experience of no human being can furnish a parallel" to the tale about to be told (p. 26). It is of "horrors such as no heart has hitherto conceived nor tongue related" (p. 67).

"He [Wieland] was much conversant with the history of religious opinions and took pains to ascertain their validity" (p. 42). His mind "was enriched by science and embellished with literature" (*idem.*)

Wieland adorned the "Temple"—his study—with a marble bust of Cicero (p. 42).

His desire for celestial illumination betrays him to deception. "How almost palpable is this darkness! yet a ray from above would dispel it," remarks his sister. "Aye," said W., with fervor, "not only the physical but [the] moral night would be dispelled."

Of hearing a voice W.'s sister says: "I am at a loss to describe the sensations that affected me. . . . This incident was different from any that I had ever before known. Here were proofs of a sensible and intelligent existence which could not be denied. Here was information obtained and imparted by means unquestionably superhuman." "I threw myself in a chair that was placed opposite the door and sunk into a fit of musing" (p. 70).

"I spent the darksome hours as I spent the day, contemplative and seated at the window. Why was my mind absorbed in thoughts ominous and dreary? Why did my bosom heave with sighs and my eyes overflow with tears? Was the tempest that had just passed a signal of the ruin which impended over me?" (p. 72). She resorts to books for diversion and chances upon a German ballad of gruesome character. Soon the clock strikes twelve, she is "startled" by a whisper (p. 73). The owner of the mysterious voice, Corwin, is described as follows: "His gait was rustic and awkward. His form was ungainly and disproportioned." "Sunken breast, drooping head, and long, lank legs are distinguishing features" (p. 67). His voice had an unexampled distinctness: "the modulation so impassioned that it seemed as if a heart of stone could not fail of being moved by it. . . . The tones were indeed such as I never heard before" (p. 69).

"I [W.'s sister] prevailed on myself at length to move towards the closet." She hesitates, wavers, gains courage, and, on venturing to open the door, is appalled by the cry, "Hold! hold!" "When the closet door at last opens all within is darkness, the stillness is unbroken. "Presently a deep sigh is heard" (p. 106).

"The apartment was open to the breeze, and the curtain was occasionally blown from its ordinary position. This motion was not unaccompanied with sound" (pp. 99, 100, 101).

"Tell me truly, I beseech you. . . . Tell me truly, are they well?" (p. 167).

"Ruffian or devil, black as hell or bright as angels. . . . Go, wretch! . . . Take thyself away from my sight!" (p. 239).

"I adjure thee, by that God" (p. 235).

"Wilt thou then go?—leave me! succorless!" (p. 235).

"Wretch!" I cried" (p. 205), (addressing another; but addressing himself:) "Wretch!" (p. 165).

In numerous trifles, verbal items, and like minutiae occur coincidences. The heroine in *Wieland* "mutters" words to herself to which the mysterious voice gives answer (p. 202). This voice on one occasion makes itself heard through a lattice (p. 81). The following additional noteworthy words and phrases occur in common: pallid, placid, ghastly, explore, respite, demeanor, disaster,

token, mystery, ominous, chamber door (frequently), presently (frequently the first word of a sentence in *Wieland*); "his silence was unbroken" (*Wieland*); Corwin's eyes "gleam with a fire that consumes his vitals." Finally, "Wieland was transformed at once into a man of sorrows" (p. 327).

Our conclusion must be that Poe had read *Wieland* with considerable attention, and that its incidents, scenes, and locutions lingered in his memory; and, what is still more important, that his imagination continued to dwell in its atmosphere of mystery, terror, and irremediable sorrow.

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MHG. *ähe*, NHG. (TYROL.) *ache(n)*, *äche*

Hintner, *ZfdWf.* XII, 254 ff., produces some interesting material in connection with Tyrolese *ache*, etc., which after several suggestions of possible etymological interpretations remains unexplained. First as to the form: MHG. (Lexer I, 28) *ähe* 'ein Ackermass, 120 Fuss lang und ebenso breit,' Tyrol. (Schöpf 3, Hintner *loc. cit.*) *ache(n)*, *äche*, *achet* 'ein Ackermass, 120 Fuss lang und ebenso breit; so viel Feld, als man mit zwei guten Pferden von fünf Uhr früh bis elf Uhr mittags umpflügt, das ist bei günstigen Bodenverhältnissen 800-1100 Quadratklafter,' Bav. (Schmeller-Frommann I, 22/3) *ächen* 'der dritte Teil eines sogenannten Tagbaues, also eine Fläche von ungefähr 18,000 Quadratschuh.' From the sources available to me, it seems that the word is confined to the dialects of the Tyrol.

The meaning of the measure of land is 'a definite amount of land that can be cultivated with a team (of horses, etc.) in a definite amount of time.' The time is a very important thing, and the size of the measure varies much depending upon the special conditions. Cf. especially *morgen-ache*, *abend-ache* 'the amount of work done in the period before stopping for a pause or before quitting work.' I believe that the measure designates the amount of work done before allowing the animals rest, or freeing them, preparatory to baiting. Cf. (Schöpf 3) *achen*, *ächen* 'ausspannen, tränken und füttern.' If this is true, we may compare ON. *æja* (**ahjan*) 'mit den Pferden ruhen und sie mittlerweile weiden lassen,' lit. 'to bait,' which may be connected with Skt. *açñāti* 'isst,' *açayati* 'lässt speisen,' *açana-* 'Essen,' ON. *agn*, Sw. *agn*, etc. 'Köder.' Cf. Torp, *Nyn. Et. Ordbok* s. v. *agn*, v. Blankenstein *IF.* XXIII, 133.

Interesting and instructive in assuming this etymology is Tyrol. *lasset*, *lazzi*, etc. 'so viel Grund als man umpflügen kann bis es Zeit ist zum Ablassen des Zugviehs, zum *Achen*.' The explanation given by Hintner, *ZfdWf.* XII, 258, is probably the correct one. There it is assumed that the word is a compound of the stem in

lassen, and *Zeit*. Cf. also Styr. *lass* 'Zwischenzeit zwischen den Stunden des Essens,' Swiss *lässt* 'Unterbrechung, zeitweiliges Nachlassen, z. B. bei Krankheiten, bei Regenwetter.'

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VITZLIPUTZLI

To my two previous notes on Vitzliputzli (*Modern Language Notes*, November, 1913, and June, 1914) I beg to add a third one. In the title of Richard Dehmel's fantastic dream-play *Fitzebutze*—which is also the name of the central figure—we have an interesting variant of the name of the Mexican god *Huitzilopochtli*. I have previously dealt with the relation between the names Vitzliputzli and *Huitzilopochtli*. In the present case the striking resemblance between *Fitzebutze* and Vitzliputzli would serve as presumptive proof that the German form *Fitzebutze* is likewise a corruption of the name of the Mexican divinity. But, as will be shown, we have still stronger proof in the form of internal evidence in the play itself, whereby the connection between the two names is positively established.

In the first act of the play *Detta*, the little girl, sings to *Fitzebutze*, the jumping-jack, as she holds him upon her lap:

Lieber schöner Hampelmann,
deine Detta sieht dich an.
Ich bin gross, und du bist klein;
willst du *Fitzebutze* sein?
Komm!

Then, as she proceeds to place the little fellow in the large arm-chair, she continues:

Komm auf Vaters grossen Stuhl,
Vitzliputze, Blitzepul!
Vater sagt, man weiss es nicht,
wie man deinen Namen spricht.
Pst, sagt Vater, *Flitzebott*
war einmal ein lieber Gott,
der auf einem Stuhle sass
und gebratne Menschen ass;
huh.

That the two names are indeed identical is proved conclusively in Act Three, where we read:

Ja, nicht wahr, du bist nicht so,
lieber Gott von Mexiko!

and a few pages beyond:

Ha—ha—hah, ho—ho—hoh,
seht den Gott von Mexiko!

where both passages refer to Fitzebutze. The fact that the scene of this act is laid in Mexico simply confirms the evidence already adduced.

The playful variations of the original name Fitzebutze, to be noted above, are quite in the characteristic manner of little children; they are indulged in more or less throughout the play. One further example may be cited:

Husch, husch, huh
alter Flitzebuh,
Flitzeputzig, Butzebein,
möchtest wohl erlöset sein?
Ja? (Cf. Act 1)

In conclusion it may be of interest to note that Dehmel's works contain also three poems on Fitzebutze.

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THE DATE OF CHAUCER'S *Hous of Fame*

A very minor but possibly significant fact may be pointed out in regard to Chaucer's *The Hous of Fame* and *The Parlement of Foules*. In the *Parlement* Chaucer gives a long account of *Scipio's Dream*, stating very precisely that he had been reading the book "the longe day." There can be no doubt that when he wrote the *Parlement* he knew *Scipio's Dream* at first hand. In the *Hous of Fame*, Book II, 916, occurs the expression

Ne the king, dan Scipio.

Scipio was not a king, and the commentators on Chaucer have endeavored to explain Chaucer's manifest ignorance by suggesting "kingly hero" (Skeat), "one like a king" (Child) as the true meaning of the reference. In the *Booke of the Duchesse, Prologue*, 284-7, we find

Macrobeus,
(He that wroot al thavisioun
That he mette, king Scipioun,
The noble man, the Affrican.

In the *Romaunt of the Rose*, 9-10, the reference is to

the avisioun
That whylom mette king Cipioun,

a translation of the *Roman de la Rose*,

la vision
Qui avint au roi Cipion.

Is it not likely that in the *Hous of Fame* Chaucer copied the term "king" from the *Roman de la Rose*? The investigations of Miss Cipriani and of Mr. Sypherd tend to show that the influence of Macrobius upon the *Hous of Fame* is debatable, while the influ-

ence of the French poem is very strong. May we not conclude that when Chaucer wrote Book II of the *Hous of Fame* he had not read *Scipio's Dream*, and that when, later, he wrote the *Parlement* he had read *Scipio's Dream*? This slight point may be of value in supporting the present-day thesis that the *Hous of Fame* is earlier than the *Parlement*.

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BRIEF MENTION

The Dialect of Hackness (North-East Yorkshire), with original specimens and a word-list. By G. H. Cowling (Cambridge, University Press, 1915). A modern Yorkshire dialect is here minutely studied by a trained scholar. He rightly declares the plan of the treatise to be "scientific," and the study of the development of the language as a whole is inevitably promoted by this specialized contribution. The treatment of the subject is in accord with the avowed purpose "to present an interesting living English dialect, to reveal some of its philological riddles, to trace its ancestry, and, if possible, to create an interest in dialect literature." Mr. Cowling has not in mind, of this one may be assured, "an interest" of the idly curious mind, but he would urge that "the purer and more historical dialects" of English be highly valued not only for their significance in technical grammar but even more especially for their elements of strength and color, which should be recognized as available for the support of the linguistic vitality and effectiveness of the nation. "If a race is worthy of literary consideration," he writes, "its characteristics are revealed in its folk-speech." . . . "Only literature . . . can preserve the beauty and just meanings of the rich and powerful dialect words which the present age is forgetting." . . . "If dialect is not to sink to the banality of local familiar speech, it must be raised by a literature in which dialect is used with truth, vigour, and realism in the representation of homely and domestic scenes."

The dialect of Hackness, "a small village on the upper reaches of the Derwent," is taken to be representative of that "spoken by agriculturalists and their labourers on the Wolds and in the Dales of North-Eastern and Eastern Yorkshire." It is widespread and therefore a genuine dialect "and not a local patois." Mr. Cowling speaks the dialect and writes it. At the end of his book he cites portions of his dialect poem, *A Yorkshire Tyke* (1914), and adds several pieces he has put into the prose of the dialect. These 'specimens' are preceded by verses composed in the 17th century and by an extract from *The Pricke of Conscience* (ca. 1354). All are in the author's devised 'phonetic script' as well as in the ordinary form of writing.

This "frosty but kindly" dialect is the descendant of that variety of Northumbrian Middle English which is represented, it is assumed, in the writings of Richard Rolle of Hampole together with *The Pricke of Conscience* (which, as Mr. Cowling knows, has recently been shown to be almost certainly not Rolle's). A well developed and definite basis is thus given for an orderly procedure in the construction of an historical grammar of this dialect, which Mr. Cowling has worked out with completeness and minute accuracy and in the approved method of the technical linguist.

Part I (pp. 1-111) is begun with an exhibition of the phonology of the dialect, first in its Modern form and then in its form in Middle English. These chapters are followed by a detailed study of the development of the present system of the vowel and consonant sounds of the dialect, carefully indicated by the aid of a phonetic script (the English, Scandinavian, and French elements are with advantage brought together in separate chapters). Part II embraces a Grammar (pp. 112-156) and Specimens (157-173) of the dialect, and is closed with a Word-List and an Index. The Specimens must be read for the syntax and style of the dialect, but the range and peculiarities of the vocabulary are described in an Introduction (pp. i-xxiii). Incidentally much is contributed to these subjects in the illustrative phrases and sentences of the grammar. A few features of the dialect may be noted. The double conjugation of the pres. ind. pl., differentiated in use by the character of the subject, shows admirably how the folk-speech may persist in conserving an inheritance thru centuries. The first pers. sg. now also ends in *-es*, and besides it has acquired the fashion of the pl. in dropping this ending when the pron. subj. is near; but an exception to this is the use of the inflected form as an historical perfect (p. 129). Of importance is the observation (p. xviii) that the short vowels (A. S. *a, e, o*) in open syllables are uniformly protected against lengthening by the suffixes in *l, m, n, r*. Noticeable is the disappearance of the Mid. Eng. palatal spirant *gh* after a front vowel (§ 393): the pronunciation of words like *might, night, right* is approximately 'meet, neet, reet'; more strictly the vowel-sound is a diphthong "beginning with lax *i* and ending in tense *j*" (p. 3). The *wh* of "Scotch and Northern English," in *what, when, whip*, etc., is pronounced *w* (voiced bilabial spirant; p. 7). The marked diphthongal character of the dialect is shown in the development of the Mid. Eng. long vowels, but the subject is too complex for a brief report. The change of an *i* and *u* when beginning an initial diphthong into the cognate consonants should be explained as due not to a shifting of the accent to the second constituent of the diphthong but to a strong initial accent; thus, A. S. *āc*, 'oak,' becomes *iak*, then *yak*; and *able* (after *ā* has been attained in Mid. Eng.) becomes ultimately *yabl*, but *table* > *tāble* becomes *tiabl*. Characteristic of the dialect is "the lack of an adjectival possessive case" of the noun (pp.

xviii, 114 f.). It is a feature developed on the basis of the old declension of feminine nouns, nouns of relationship, and weak nouns in Northern Mid. English. 'My father hat,' and 'the lad boots' illustrate the usage. But the necessary limit of this notice has been reached. The technical student of English will set a high value on Mr. Cowling's treatise; he will use it in connection with Mutschmann's *Phonology of the North-Eastern Scotch Dialect* (Bonner Studien zur engl. Philologie. Heft 1, 1909), Klein's *Der Dialekt von Stokesley in Yorkshire* (Palaestra, exxiv, 1914); and the several other recent works on the English dialects, recorded in Mr. Cowling's bibliography, by which the subject has been put on a basis of scientific accuracy.

J. W. B.

Iacob and Iosep. A Middle English Poem of the Thirteenth Century. Edited by Arthur S. Napier (Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1916). There is no statement as to the posthumous publication of this booklet. It is, therefore, to be inferred that Napier, before his lamented end, had read even the final proofs. Nothing is here found that does not comport with Napier's complete scholarship and his admirable clearness and conciseness of method. This edition of the poem, it is stated, was well advanced in preparation "years ago," but was laid aside when Heuser's edition appeared in 1905. "As, however, the poem is an interesting one," is the added apology, "and as the *Bonner Beiträge* are not very accessible, I have decided to go on with my edition."

The poem, in the dialect of the South-west, survives in only one copy (MS. Bodley 652), which "seems to have been written soon after the middle of the thirteenth century." Unfortunately, one leaf has been cut out, on which, Napier believed, was told the non-biblical story of the chaff thrown into the Nile, told in full in the *Cursor Mundi* (4749-4792); this chaff-story is also found, it is pointed out, in Old French verse translations of the Bible. The poem also agrees with these texts in several other non-biblical details; and there seem to be significant agreements of single lines with the *Cursor Mundi*. The problem is set for a more complete study of the relations of this poem. Its association in the MS. with French texts (in two additional hands) may not have the significance of a clue, but a further look is encouraged by Professor Karl Young's discovery of "A Liturgical Play of Joseph and his Brethren" (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxvi, 33-37).

The phonology, inflections, and meter of the poem are considered in Napier's Introduction, and Notes and Glossary complete the apparatus for an accurate study of a composition that has so long remained unknown to literary history. An added attraction is a fac-simile reproduction of two pages of the MS. Napier's Notes, altho set down on a small number of pages, embrace noticeable observations on syntax and contributions to lexicography.

Thus, *fotsid* (line 100) antedates the report of the *NED*; *tubrugge* (line 363), 'drawbridge,' suggests an unrecorded Anglo-Saxon form; and *nextfolde* (line 497) supports an occurrence in the M. E. *Juliana* and the compounds of *neah-* brought together in Napier's "Contributions." A use of the infinitive occurs in *ligge slepe* (line 12), 'to lie sleeping,' which is more deserving of attention than may be inferred from Napier's note. The historic development of the "Predicate Infinitive" constitutes one of the most instructive stories in Germanic syntax, and it is now competently discussed by Professor Callaway in *The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon* (Publication No. 167 of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1913. See pp. 89 ff., 194 ff., and 238 f.).

J. W. B.

The position of preëminence that Mr. Hardy has held among living men of letters since the death of Swinburne and Meredith has been recognised by the bestowal upon him of the Order of Merit (in Meredith's room) and the Gold Medal of the Royal Society of Literature. A tribute of a different kind is the increasing number of critical studies of his writings. Several recent ones supplement and in part supersede the earlier critiques of Lionel Johnson and Annie Macdonald. The most brilliant of these later monographs is that by Lascelles Abercrombie (Kennerley, 1912); the most ambitious is F. A. Hedgecock's *Thomas Hardy, Penseur et Artiste* (Hachette, n. d., [1910]). Mr. Abercrombie has the advantage of a poet's imaginative sympathy and he achieved a critical study noteworthy for architectonic skill. He lays proper stress upon Hardy's poetry, a portion of his work that has been till very lately too much overlooked, despite the poet's own view that it is "the more individual part of [his] literary fruitage." (One may express gratification, in passing, at the recent decision to include a selection from Hardy's verse in the *Golden Treasury Series*.) Mr. Hedgecock, inquiring more profoundly than Mr. Abercrombie, brought the sex-conflict that forms so large a portion of Hardy's subject-matter into proper relation with the philosophic doctrine of the struggle between intellect and intuition, Not-Being and Being. This Hardy bases upon von Hartmann's theory of the Unconscious, the Absolute. In the rivalry of Will and Reason the former is still in the primacy tho the power of Reason is growing and must some day prevail. When this consummation is reached the problem of existence will be solved by a voluntary lapse into unconsciousness. Suggestions of this doctrine are apparent in all Hardy's mature work. Intellect is at odds with life, is enervated; the Will-to-live pulses high in those who live in the world of feeling rather than of thought, in women and the care-free peasantry. Beneath the harsh realism of *Jude the Obscure* those who will may find the doctrine set forth almost in allegorical form. The interpretation in detail of this and kindred points in Hardy's philosophy is Hedgecock's

theme. The Wessex Novels are shown to be founded on a recognition, not incompatible with minute realism, of the applicability of a deterministic system of philosophy to the facts of life. After this fine study the two latest additions to the volumes of Hardy-criticism appear extremely superficial. Harold Child's *Thomas Hardy* (Holt, [1916]), one of a new series designed for popular consumption, is described by the publisher as a "biography and critical estimate." Apart from a few dates of publications the biography consists of one fact, stated in one line. The critical estimate is, within its limited scope, sound, and contains a study of Hardy's work as a poet, especially of *The Dynasts*, that is excellent. More pretentious, tho it disregards the poems, even in so far as they throw light upon the novels, is H. C. Duffin's *Thomas Hardy. A Study of the Wessex Novels* (Manchester, The University Press, 1916). This is commended to us by Professor Herford, but, when one has granted that devoted study and minute acquaintance with the novels went to the making of the book, little else can be said in its favor. It is disfigured by uncritical enthusiasms, as in the absurd laudation of *Jude* (p. 203), contradiction of which Mr. Duffin attempts to forestall by declaring that "to the fool it is a closed book from the beginning." It contains surprising errors of judgment, as in the estimate of the relative value of the novels, *A Pair of Blue Eyes* (in which Duffin is apparently unaware of the survival of much of the melodrama of Wilkie Collins and of *Desperate Remedies*) being ranked above *The Return of the Native* and *The Woodlanders*, whereas most readers of Hardy find in these two books his highest achievement in the novel-form. An ultra-academic lack of worldly wisdom in Mr. Duffin's book merits examination in some detail, for it illustrates the danger of attempting to criticise without some equipment derived from experience with life. For example: according to him "there is no contesting the celestial beauty" of the figure of Angel Clare (p. 129). Mr. Abercrombie, whose knowledge of life is attested by such poems as *The End of the World*, calls him "odious"; "no decent person, knowing Angel's history, would house with him or, if possible, talk with him" (p. 149). Again: "pure," that defiant adjective that confronts us on the title-page of *Tess*, Duffin interprets as meaning "that Tess is submitted as Hardy's type of unadulterated womanhood" (p. 144). A third misconception is of a piece with these and more remarkable. In the preface to *Jude*, Hardy speaks of "the fever and the fret that follow in the wake of the strongest passion known to humanity," by which, according to Mr. Duffin (p. 130) he intends "the desire for knowledge, or (specially) for academic distinction." At least one aspirant towards knowledge—and one not altogether unconscious of the last infirmity of professorial minds—envies the academic repose, "calm, sad, secure; behind high convent walls," evinced by this gloss upon Mr. Hardy's text.

S. C. C.

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